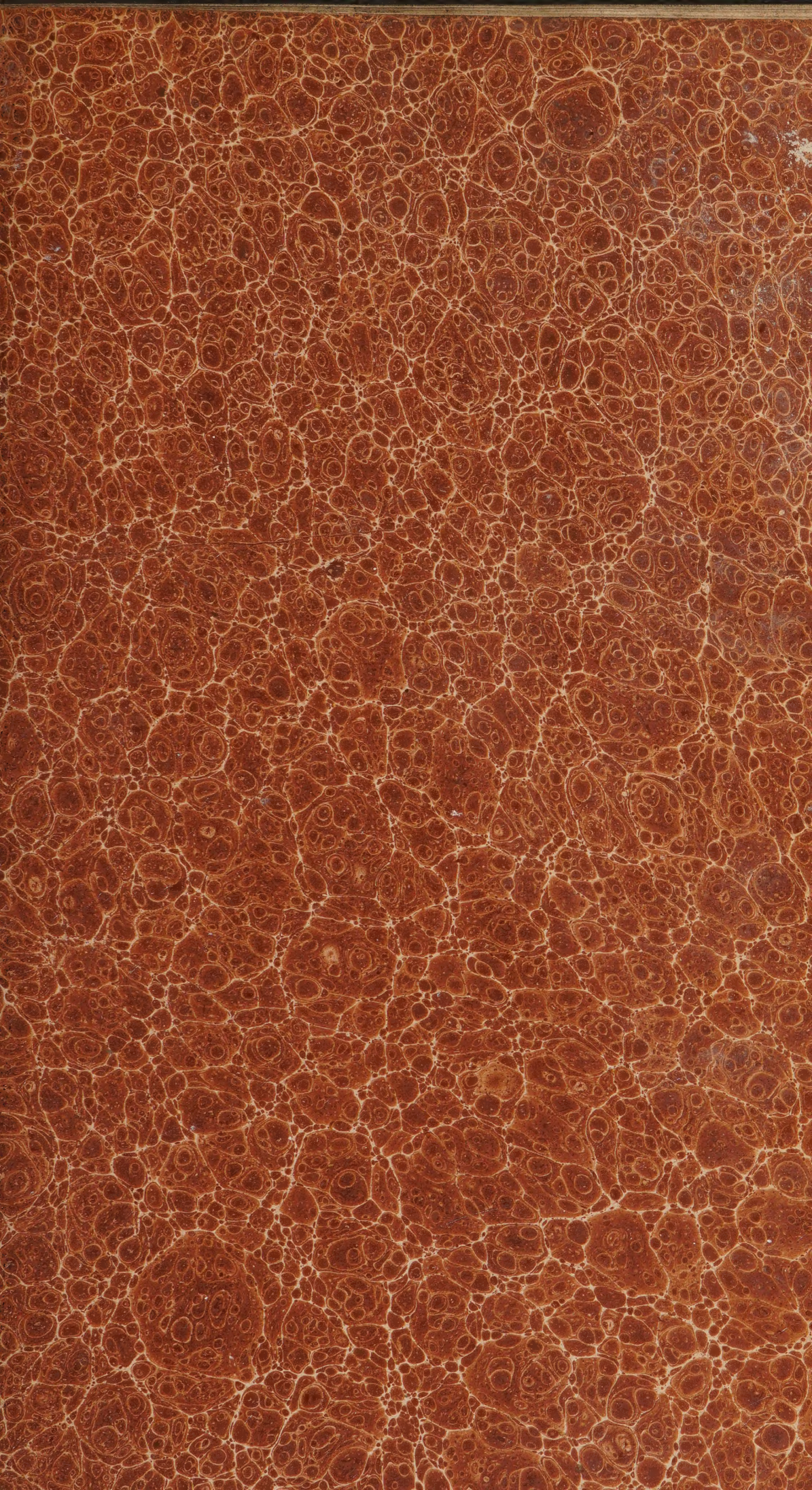
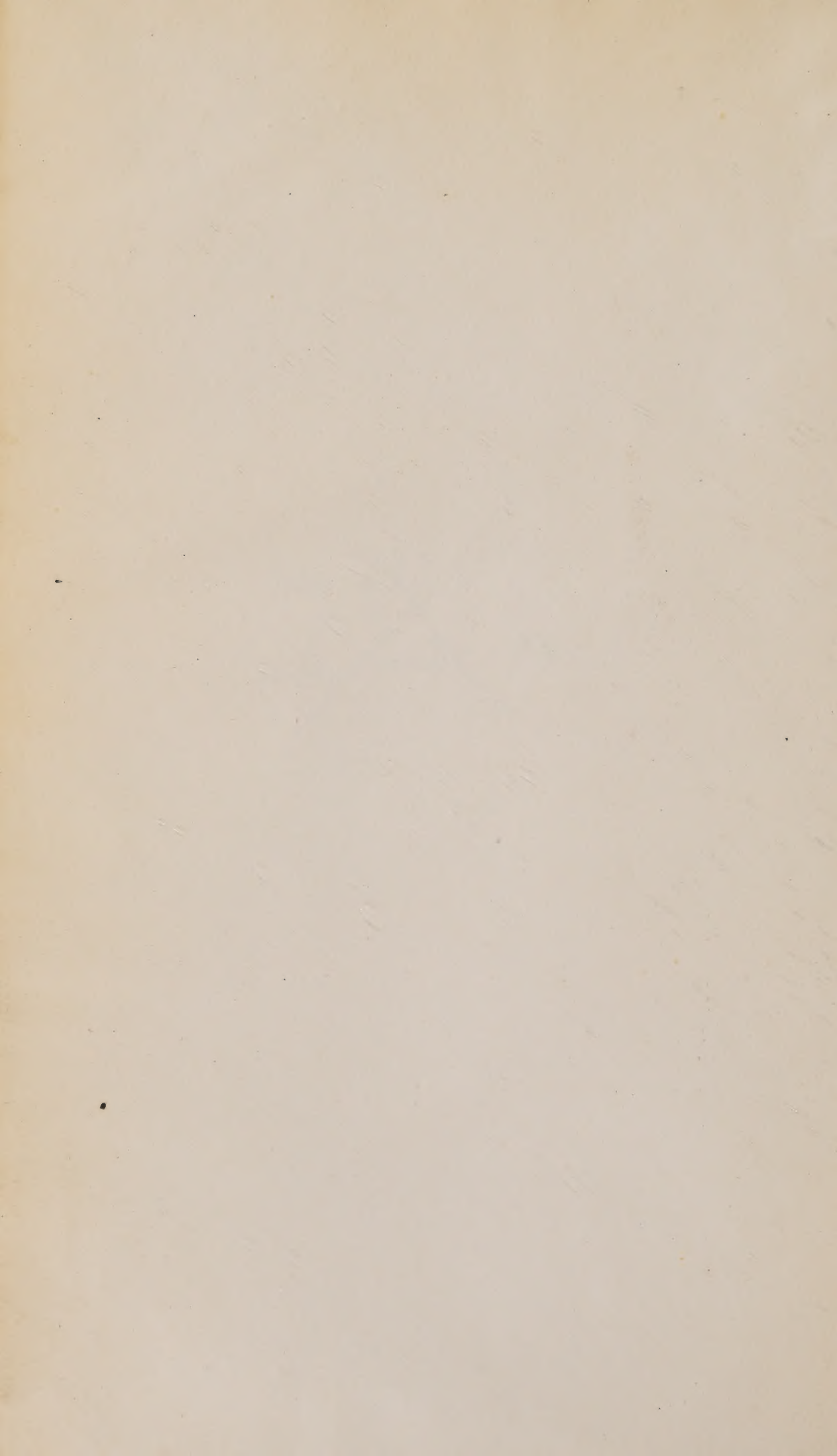


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SELECTION
OF
CURIOUS ARTICLES
FROM THE
GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

VOL. II.

A
SELECTION
OF
CURIOUS ARTICLES
FROM THE
Gentleman's Magazine.

BY
JOHN WALKER, LL.B.
FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

I. ANCIENT AND MODERN LITERATURE, CRITICISM, AND
PHILOLOGY.

II. PHILOSOPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

THIRD EDITION.

LONDON :

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1814.

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C O N T E N T S

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ANCIENT AND MODERN
LITERATURE,
CRITICISM, AND PHILOLOGY.

I. On the Acta Diurna of the Old Romans.

Sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt; dum intelligatur, quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem; non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.
Cic. de Orat. Lib. 2. C. 12.

AS we are apt to look, either with an eye of contempt or surprize, on the customs of other nations, which differ from our own, so we cannot help being pleased with any, which bear some degree of resemblance to those of our country. The pleasure seems to be stronger, the further we carry our views back into ancient times, and observe this analogy of fashions; whether the veneration usually paid to antiquity itself, heightens the satisfaction; or whether we regard it as the voice of nature pronouncing such a custom rational and useful by the consent of distant ages. To apply this general remark to a particular instance; every body must allow that our newspapers, and the other collections of intelligence periodically published, by the materials they afford for discourse and speculation, contribute very much to the emolument of society; their cheapness brings them into universal use; their variety adapts them to every one's taste: the scholar instructs himself with advice from the literary world; the soldier makes a campaign in safety, and censures the conduct of generals without fear of being punished for mutiny; the politician, inspired by the fumes of the coffee-pot, unravels the knotty intrigues of ministers; the industrious merchant observes the course of trade and navigation; and the honest shopkeeper nods over the account of a robbery and the prices of goods till his pipe is out. One may easily imagine, that the use and amusement resulting from these diurnal histories render it a custom, not

likely to be confined to one part of the globe, or one period of time. The relations of China mention a gazette published there by authority, and the Roman historians sometimes quote the *Acta Diurna*, or Daily Advertisers of that empire. It will serve to illustrate the thought at the beginning, by shewing the analogy of customs, and besides furnish a good authority for the readers of newspapers, who may for the future appeal to the practice of the old Romans, if I enter into a little critical essay upon the nature of the writings last mentioned.

The *Acta Diurna* were journals* of the common occurrences of Rome, as the trials, elections, punishments, build-ings, deaths, sacrifices, prodigies, &c. composed under the direction of the magistrates, committed to their care, and laid up with the rest of their records in an edifice, called the Hall of Liberty. They were, like all other public papers, easily gained access to. The historians† appear to have collected materials from them; nor is it improbable, that copies were frequently taken by particular persons, and dispersed about the city, or sent to their friends in the provinces, that no Roman might be ignorant even of the minutest event which happened in the metropolis of the world.

We may find some ground for this supposition in the correspondence between Cicero and Cœlius, whilst the former was governor of Cilicia. Cœlius‡ had promised to send him the news of Rome, and in order to discharge his commission with exactness, and gratify the curiosity of his friend, incloses in his first letter a kind of journal of the occurrences of the city. Tully, it appears, would have made a bad figure in a modern coffee-house conversation, for he rallies Cœlius about it very humourously in his answer; “Do you think,” says he, “that I left it in charge with you to send an account of the matches of gladiators, the adjournments of the courts, and such like articles, which even when I am at Rome, nobody ventures to tell me? From you I expect a political sketch of the commonwealth, and not Chrestus’s newspaper.” Suetonius likewise mentions a little particularity with regard to these *Acta Diurna*, which may serve to confirm the notion of their bearing a pretty near resemblance to our newspapers. He says, that J. Cæsar|| in his consulship ordered the diurnal acts of the senate and the people

* Vide Justi Lipsii *Excursus in Tacitum* Ed. Var. v. 1. p. 743.

† Suet. in Cæs. c. 20. in vita Tib. c. 5. et alias. Tac. L. 13. Suet. in Cal. C. 9. “Fient ista palam, cupiunt et in acta referri.” Juv. Sat. 2. l. 136.

‡ L. 8. Ep. 1. L. 2. Ep. 8.

|| Vit. Jul. Cæs.

to be published. Augustus, indeed, the same author* observes, forbid the publication of the former to be continued, but there is no reason to think his prohibition extended to the latter. It is certainly suitable to the genius of an absolute monarchy, that its counsels should not be publicly known; but the amusing and trifling topics for discourse, which the common events of a great city afford, are so far from being offensive under such a constitution, that they rather serve to draw off the minds of the people from inquiring into affairs of a more important and secret nature. The antiquaries pretend to have discovered some of these papers: those, which relate to the 585th year of Rome, were first published by Pighius† in his annals. He tells us that they were given him by James Susius, who found them amongst the papers of Ludovicus Vives. He does not seem to doubt in the least of their being genuine, and even makes use of them to correct a passage in Livy. Dodwell‡ inserted them in his Camdenian lectures, together with some additional acta of the year of Rome 691. A friend of his, Hadrian Beverland, had received them from Isaac Vossius, who transcribed them from a parcel of inscriptions, which Petavius had prepared for the press. I shall now communicate to my readers some extracts from the papers themselves,

* Aug. C. 36. ‘*Primus omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conficerentur et publicarentur.*’ These words of Suetonius imply further, that Julius Cæsar was the first who ordered the acts of the senate and people to be drawn up as well as published; and this is one reason amongst others, why some men of learning have suspected the genuineness of these remains of the Acta. But perhaps the force of Suetonius’s assertion may be taken off, if we consider that a numerous, grave, and regular body, like the Roman senate, could not possibly carry on the variety of business with dispatch or convenience, unless some registers of their proceedings were taken, which might be referred to, and examined upon occasion. Besides, I think it may be clearly collected from the following passage in one of Tully’s Orations, that there were some such registers in being long before the time of Cæsar’s consulship.—‘*Quid deinde? quid feci? cum scirem ita indicium in tabulas publicas relatum, ut ex tabulæ privata tamen custodia continerentur; non continui domi, sed dividi passim,*’ &c. *pro Sull. c. 15.* Now, as we may reasonably suppose Suetonius less accurate in his assertion with regard to the Acta Senatus, why may not we also suspect his accuracy in the other instance of the Acta Diurna, especially if we consider that the ‘*tabulæ publicæ*’ may include both, and that the Roman historians were very careless in consulting their records, and searching after them? I will lengthen this note no further than by just mentioning that Mr. Wesseling, a German professor, has attacked these Acta Diurna with a good deal of learning and ingenuity. I should make this essay more tedious than it is already, by entering into the controversy, and therefore choose to refer the reader to the book itself.

† Vol. 2.

‡ App. 665 and 690.

observing only, that the names of Paulus Æmilius the conqueror of Macedon, Popilius Lenas the famous ambassador, Julius Cæsar, Cicero, and Hortensius, give an air of importance to the most trifling circumstances, which occasion their being mentioned. I purposely keep pretty close to the originals, that the form and manner of drawing them up, may be the better preserved.

“ A. U. C. *i. e.* from the building of Rome, 585.

5th of the Kalends of April.

The Fasces with Æmilius the consul.

The consul, crowned with laurel, sacrificed at the temple of Apollo. The senate assembled at the Curia Hostilia about the 8th hour; and a decree passed, that the prætors should give sentence according to the edicts, which were of perpetual validity. This day M. Scapula was accused of an act of violence before C. Bæbius the prætor; 15 of the judges were for condemning him, and 33 for adjourning the cause.

4th of the Kal. of April.

The Fasces with Licinius the consul.

It thundered, and an oak was struck with lightning on that part of Mount Palatine called Summa Velia, early in the afternoon. A fray happened in a tavern at the lower end of the Banker's Street,* in which the keeper of the Hog-in-Armour tavern, was dangerously wounded. Tertinius, the Ædile, fined the butchers for selling meat which had not been inspected by the overseers of the markets. The fine is to be employed in building a chapel to the temple of the goddess Tellus.

3d of the Kal. of April. The Fasces with Æmilius.

It rained stones on Mount Veintine. Posthumius, the tribune, sent his beadle to the consul, because he was unwilling to convene the senate on that day; but the tribune Decimus putting in his veto, the affair went no further.

Pridie Kal. Aprilis. The Fasces with Licinius.

The Latin festivals were celebrated, a sacrifice performed on the Alban Mount, and a dole of raw flesh distributed to the people. A fire happened on Mount Cœlius; two trisulæ† and five houses were consumed to the ground, and four

* Called Janus Infimus, because there was in that part of the street a statue of Janus, as the upper end was called Janus Summus, for the same reason.

† Houses standing out by themselves, and not joined to the rest of the street. Most of the great men's houses at Rome were built after this manner.

damaged. Demiphon, the famous pirate, who was taken by Licinius Nerva, a provincial lieutenant, was crucified. The red standard was displayed at the capitol, and the consuls obliged the youth who were enlisted for the Macedonian war, to take a new oath in the Campus Martius.

Kal. April.

Paulus the consul, and Cn. Octavius the prætor, set out this day for Macedonia, in their habits of war, and vast numbers of people attending them to the gates. The funeral of Marcia was performed with greater pomp of images than attendance of mourners. The pontifex Sempronius proclaimed the Megalesian plays in honour of Cybele.

4th of the Nones of April.

A *Ver Sacrum** was vowed, pursuant to the opinion of the college of priests. Presents were made to the ambassadors of the Etolians. Ebutius the prætor, set out for his province of Sicily. The fleet stationed on the African coast, entered the port of Ostia with the tribute of that province. An entertainment was given to the people by Marcia's sons at their mother's funeral. A stage play was acted, this day being sacred to Cybele.

3d of the Nones of April.

Popilius Lenas,† C. Decimus, C. Hostilius, were sent ambassadors, in a joint commission, to the kings of Syria and Egypt, in order to accommodate the differences, about which they are now at war. Early in the morning they went, with a great attendance of clients and relations, to offer up a sacrifice and libations at the temple of Castor and Pollux, before they began their journey."

The second set of the remains of the *Acta Diurna*, belong to the year of Rome 691. I have already mentioned how they were discovered, and shall only add, that they are fuller and more entertaining than the former, but rather seem more liable to objections, with regard to their genuineness.

* A '*Ver Sacrum*' was a vow to sacrifice an ox, sheep, or some such beast, born between the Kalends of March, and the Pridie Kal. of June.

† This Popilius met Antiochus, king of Syria, at the head of his conquering army, in Egypt, and drawing a circle round him with a stick he held in his hand, bid him declare himself a friend or enemy to Rome before he stirred out of it. The king, though flushed with success, chose the former; and in consequence of it, withdrew his troops out of the dominions of Ptolemy, who was an ally of the Romans.

“ Syllanus and Murena consuls. The Fasces with Murena.
3d of the Ides of August.

Murena sacrificed early in the morning at the temple of Castor and Pollux, and afterwards assembled the senate in Pompey's senate-house. Syllanus defended Sext. Roscius of Larinum, who was accused of an act of violence by Torquatus before Q. Cornificius the prætor. The defendant was absolved by forty votes, and found guilty by twenty. A riot happened in the Via Sacra, between Clodius's workmen and Milo's slaves.

5th of the Kal. of September.

M. Tullius Cicero pleaded in defence of Cornelius Sylla, accused by Torquatus of being concerned in Catiline's conspiracy, and gained his cause by a majority of five judges. The tribunes* of the treasury were against the defendant. One of the prætors advertised by an edict, that he should put off his sittings for five days, upon account of his daughter's marriage. C. Cæsar set out for his government of the farther Spain, having been long detained by his creditors. A report was brought to Tertinius the prætor, whilst he was trying causes at his tribunal, that his son was dead: this was contrived by the friends of Copponius, who was accused of poisoning, that the prætor in his concern might adjourn the court; but that magistrate having discovered the falsity of the story, returned to his tribunal, and continued taking informations against the accused.

4th of the Kal. of September.

The funeral of Metella Pia, a vestal, was celebrated; she was buried in the sepulchre of her ancestors in the Aurelian Road. The censors made a bargain that the temple of Aius Loquens should be repaired for 25 sesterces. Q. Hortensius harangued the people about the censorship, and the Allobrogic war. Advice arrived from Etruria, that the re-

* The judicial power in public trials underwent frequent alterations at Rome, and had been lodged at different times in the senators, the knights, and sometimes in a mixed number of both. It was now shared, by the Aurelian law, between the senatorian and equestrian orders, and the Tribuni Aerarii, who were Plebeians, and paymasters in the Roman exchequer: the latter were deprived of this privilege by J. Cæsar. The number of judges seems to have varied according to the appointment of the magistrates, or the appointment of the law on which the accusation was founded. At Milo's trial (for instance) they were reduced by lot to 81; and before sentence was given, the accusers and the accused rejected 5 out of each order, so that 51 determined the cause, which was always done by ballot: but there are other cases where the number of judges is different.

mains of the late conspiracy had begun a tumult, headed by L. Sergius.”*

An admirer of antiquity may perhaps find the same conciseness, clearness, and simplicity, in the *Acta Diurna*, which so eminently distinguish the inscriptions upon the medals and public monuments of the ancients. I must own, however, to be impartial, that they want that sprightly humour and diffuse kind of narration which embellish the compositions of our modern diurnal historians. The Roman gazetteers are defective in several material ornaments of style. They never end an article with the mystical hint, *this occasions great speculation*. They seem to have been ignorant of such engaging introductions, *as we hear it is strongly reported*; and of that ingenious, but thread-bare excuse for a downright lie, *it wants confirmation*. It is also very observable, that the prætor’s daughter is married, without our being told that *she was a lady of great beauty, merit, and fortune*.

Another remark, which is naturally suggested from several articles of these journals, is the great regard which the Romans paid to the superstitious ceremonies of a false and ridiculous religion. Not a day passes, but some prodigy is observed, some sacrifice or festival performed to implore the blessing of their deities upon the arms and councils of the state. Three men of the greatest quality in Rome, before they set out on an embassy of importance, go, in a solemn manner, accompanied by their families and friends, to beg the assistance and protection of the gods, as a necessary preparation for a long journey and a weighty employment. I shall only add, that if the Romans thought a strict practice of the religious rites transmitted to them, and made venerable by the institution of their ancestors, absolutely necessary to the preservation of discipline and morality, how much more ought those, who live under a true and divine religion, which enjoins no precepts but what are rational, no ceremonies but what are significant, to shew a proper regard for it upon all occasions, at least never to discover by their lives and discourse, that they have lost all sense, not only of solid piety and virtue, but of common decency.

1740, *Preface*.

* This incident seems obscure. Catiline’s conspiracy was entirely quashed before this time, so that L. Sergius cannot mean him, as it otherwise might, for his name was Lucius Sergius Catiline; nor can the expression ‘*reliquiæ Conjuratorum*’ be applied to Catiline’s commotion in Etruria, which was the opening of the plot; whereas the words in the *Acta* plainly imply, that this was a renewal of it, by that part of the conspirators, who had escaped, or were yet undiscovered.

II. On the Catalogue of the Harleian Library.*

TO solicit a subscription for a catalogue of books exposed to sale, is an attempt for which some apology cannot but be necessary, for few would willingly contribute to the expense of volumes, by which neither instruction nor entertainment could be afforded, from which only the bookseller could expect advantage, and of which the only use must cease, at the dispersion of the library.

Nor could the reasonableness of an universal rejection of our proposal be denied, if this catalogue were to be compiled with no other view, than that of promoting the sale of the books which it enumerates, and drawn up with that inaccuracy and confusion which may be found in those that are daily published.

But our design, like our proposal, is uncommon, and to be prosecuted at a very uncommon expense, it being intended, that the books shall be distributed into their distinct classes, and every class ranged with some regard to the age of the writers; that every book shall be accurately described; that the peculiarities of editions shall be remarked, and observations from the authors of literary history occasionally interspersed, that, by this catalogue, we may inform posterity of the excellence and value of this great collection, and promote the knowledge of scarce books and elegant editions. For this purpose, men of letters are engaged, who cannot even be supplied with amanuenses, but at an expense above that of a common catalogue.

To shew that this collection deserves a particular degree of regard from the learned and the studious, that it excels any library that was ever yet offered to public sale, in the value as well as number of the volumes which it contains, and that therefore this catalogue will not be of less use to men of letters, than those of the Thuanian, Heinsian, or Barberinian libraries, it may not be improper to exhibit a general account of the different classes as they are naturally divided by the several sciences.

By this method we can indeed exhibit only a general idea, at once magnificent and confused; an idea of the writings of many nations, collected from distant parts of the world, discovered sometimes by chance, and sometimes by curiosity, amidst the rubbish of forsaken monasteries, and the repositories of ancient families, and brought hither from every part, as to the universal receptacle of learning.

It will be no unpleasing effect of this account, if those

[* By Dr. Samuel Johnson. It accompanied the proposals for printing by subscription the *Bibliotheca Harleiana*. E.]

that shall happen to peruse it, should be inclined by it to reflect on the character of the late proprietors, and to pay some tribute of veneration to their ardor for literature, to that generous and exalted curiosity which they gratified with incessant searches and immense expense, and to which they dedicated that time and that superfluity of fortune which many others of their rank employ in the pursuit of contemptible amusements, or the gratification of guilty passions. And, surely, every man, who considers learning as ornamental and advantageous to the community, must allow them the honour of public benefactors, who have introduced amongst us authors hitherto not well known, and added to the literary treasures of their native country.

That our catalogue will excite any other man to emulate the collectors of this library, to prefer books and manuscripts to equipage and luxury, and to forsake noise and diversion for the conversation of the learned, and the satisfaction of extensive knowledge, we are very far from presuming to hope; but shall make no scruple to assert, that, if any man should happen to be seized with such laudable ambition, he may find in this catalogue hints and informations which are not easily to be met with; he will discover, that the boasted Bodleian library is very far from a perfect model, and that even the learned Fabricius cannot completely instruct him in the early editions of the classic writers.

But the collectors of libraries cannot be numerous, and, therefore, catalogues could not very properly be recommended to the public, if they had not a more general and frequent use, an use which every student has experienced, or neglected to his loss. By the means of catalogues only can it be known, what has been written on every part of learning, and the hazard avoided of encountering difficulties which have already been cleared, discussing questions which have already been decided, and digging in mines of literature which former ages have exhausted.

How often this has been the fate of students, every man of letters can declare, and, perhaps, there are very few who have not sometimes valued as new discoveries, made by themselves, those observations which have long since been published, and of which the world therefore will refuse them the praise; nor can that refusal be censured as any enormous violation of justice; for, why should they not forfeit by their ignorance, what they might claim by their sagacity?

To illustrate this remark, by the mention of obscure names, would not much confirm it, and to villify for this purpose the memory of men truly great, would be to deny

them the reverence which they may justly claim from those whom their writings have instructed. May the shade at least of one great English critic rest without disturbance, and may no man presume to insult his memory who wants his learning, his reason, or his wit.

From the vexatious disappointment of meeting reproach, where praise is expected, every man will certainly desire to be secured, and therefore that book will have some claim to his regard from which he may receive informations of the labours of his predecessors, such as a catalogue of the Harleian library will copiously afford him.

Nor is the use of catalogues of less importance to those whom curiosity has engaged in the study of literary history, and who think the intellectual revolutions of the world more worthy of their attention, than the ravages of tyrants, the desolation of kingdoms, the rout of armies, and the fall of empires. Those who are pleased with observing the first birth of new opinions, their struggles against opposition, their silent progress under persecution, their general reception, and their gradual decline, or sudden extinction; those that amuse themselves with remarking the different periods of human knowledge, and observe how darkness and light succeed each other, by what accident the most gloomy nights of ignorance have given way to the dawn of science, and how learning has languished and decayed for want of patronage and regard, or been overborne by the prevalence of fashionable ignorance, or lost amidst the tumults of invasion and the storms of violence; all those, who desire any knowledge of the literary transactions of past ages, may find in catalogues, like this, at least, such an account as is given by annalists and chronologers of civil history.

How the knowledge of the sacred writings has been diffused, will be observed from the catalogue of the various editions of the Bible, from the first impression by Fust, in 1462, to the present time, in which will be contained the Polyglot editions of Spain, France, and England, those of the original Hebrew, the Greek Septuagint, and the Latin Vulgate, with the versions which are now used in the remotest parts of Europe, in the country of the Grisons, in Lithuania, Bohemia, Finland, and Iceland.

With regard to the attempts of the same kind made in our own country, there are few whose expectations will not be exceeded by the number of English Bibles, of which not one is forgotten, whether valuable for the pomp and beauty of the impression, or for the notes with which the text is accompanied, or for any controversy or persecution that it

produced, or for the peculiarity of any single passage. With the same care have the various editions of the book of Common Prayer been selected, from which all the alterations which have been made in it may be easily remarked.

Amongst a great number of Roman missals and breviaries, remarkable for the beauty of their cuts and illuminations, will be found the Mosarabic missal and breviary, that raised such commotions in the kingdom of Spain.

The controversial treatises written in England, about the time of the Reformation, have been diligently collected, with a multitude of remarkable tracts, single sermons, and small treatises, which, however worthy to be preserved, are perhaps to be found in no other place.

The regard which was always paid, by the collectors of this library, to that remarkable period of time, in which the art of printing was invented, determined them to accumulate the ancient impressions of the fathers of the church, to which the later editions are added, lest antiquity should have seemed more worthy of esteem than accuracy.

History has been considered with the regard due to that study by which the manners are most easily formed, and from which the most efficacious instruction is received, nor will the most extensive curiosity fail of gratification in this library, from which no writers have been excluded that relate either to the religious or civil affairs of any nation.

Not only those authors of ecclesiastical history have been procured, who treat of the state of religion in general, or deliver accounts of sects or nations, but those likewise who have confined themselves to particular orders of men in every church, who have related the original, and the rules of every society, or recounted the lives of its founder and its members; those who have deduced in every country the succession of bishops; and those who have employed their abilities in celebrating the piety of particular saints, or martyrs, or monks, or nuns.

The civil history of all nations has been amassed together, nor is it easy to determine, which has been thought most worthy of curiosity.

Of France, not only the general histories and ancient chronicles, the accounts of celebrated reigns, and narratives of remarkable events; but even the memorials of single families, the lives of private men, the antiquities of particular cities, churches, and monasteries, the topography of provinces, and the accounts of laws, customs, and prescriptions, are here to be found.

The several states of Italy have, in this treasury, their

particular historians, whose accounts are, perhaps, generally more exact, by being less extensive; and more interesting, by being more particular.

Nor has less regard been paid to the different nations of the Germanic empire, of which, neither the Bohemians, nor Hungarians, nor Austrians, nor Bavarians, have been neglected; nor have their antiquities, however generally disregarded, been less studiously searched, than their present state.

The northern nations have supplied this collection, not only with history, but poetry, with Gothic antiquities, and Runic inscriptions; which at least have this claim to veneration, above the remains of the Roman magnificence, that they are the works of those heroes, by whom the Roman empire was destroyed, and which may plead, at least in this nation, that they ought not to be neglected by those that owe to the men whose memories they preserve, their constitution, their properties, and their liberties.

The curiosity of those collectors extended equally to all parts of the world; nor did they forget to add to the northern the southern writers, or to adorn their collection with chronicles of Spain, and the conquest of Mexico.

Even of those nations with which we have less intercourse, whose customs are less accurately known, and whose history is less distinctly recounted, there are in this library repositied such accounts, as the Europeans have been hitherto able to obtain; nor are the Mogul, the Tartar, the Turk, and the Saracen, without their historians.

That persons so inquisitive, with regard to the transactions of other nations, should inquire yet more ardently after the history of their own, may be naturally expected; and, indeed, this part of the library is no common instance of diligence and accuracy. Here are to be found with the ancient chronicles, and larger histories of Britain, the narratives of single reigns, and the accounts of remarkable revolutions, the topographical histories of counties, the pedigrees of families, the antiquities of churches and cities, the proceedings of Parliaments, the records of monasteries, and the lives of particular men, whether eminent in the church or the state, or remarkable in private life: whether exemplary for their virtues, or detestable for their crimes; whether persecuted for religion, or executed for rebellion.

That memorable period of the English history, which begins with the reign of King Charles the First, and ends with the Restoration, will almost furnish a library alone, such is the number of volumes, pamphlets, and papers, which were

published by either party, and such is the care with which they have been preserved.

Nor is history without the necessary preparatives and attendants, geography and chronology; of geography, the best writers and delineators have been procured, and pomp and accuracy have been both regarded. The student of chronology may here find likewise those authors who searched the records of time, and fixed the periods of history.

With the historians and geographers, may be ranked the writers of voyages and travels, which may be read here in the Latin, English, Dutch, German, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.

The laws of different countries, as they are in themselves equally worthy of curiosity with their history, have, in this collection, been justly regarded; and the rules, by which the various communities of the world are governed, may be here examined and compared. Here are the ancient editions of the papal decretals, and the commentators on the civil law, the edicts of Spain, and the statutes of Venice.

But, with particular industry, have the various writers on the laws of our own country been collected, from the most ancient to the present time, from the bodies of the statutes, to the minutest treatise; not only the reports, precedents, and readings of our own courts, but even the laws of our West Indian colonies will be exhibited in our catalogue.

But neither history nor law has been so far able to engross this library, as to exclude physic, philosophy, or criticism. Those have been thought, with justice, worthy of a place, who have examined the different species of animals, delineated their form, or described their properties and instincts, or who have penetrated the bowels of the earth, treated on its different strata, and analysed its metals; or who have amused themselves with less laborious speculations, or planted trees, or cultivated flowers.

Those that have exalted their thoughts above the minuter parts of the creation, who have observed the motions of the heavenly bodies, and attempted systems of the universe, have not been denied the honour which they deserved by so great an attempt, whatever has been their success. Nor have those mathematicians been rejected, who have applied their science to the common purposes of life, or those that have deviated into the kindred arts of tactics, architecture, and fortification.

Even arts of far less importance have found their authors,

nor have these authors been despised by the boundless curiosity of the proprietors of the Harleian Library. The writers on horsemanship and fencing are more numerous, and more bulky, than could be expected, by those who reflect how seldom those excel in either, whom their education has qualified to compose books.

The admirer of Greek and Roman Literature will meet, in this collection, with editions little known to the most inquisitive critics, and which have escaped the observation of those whose great employment has been the collation of copies; nor will he find only the most ancient editions of Faustus, Jenson, Spira, Swenheim, and Pannartz; but the most accurate and likewise beautiful of Colinaeus, the Juntæ, Plantin, Aldus, the Stephens, and Elzevir, with the commentaries and observations of the most learned editors.

Nor are they accompanied only with the illustrations of those who have confined their attempts to particular writers; but of those likewise who have treated on any part of the Greek or Roman antiquities, their laws, their customs, their dress, their buildings, their wars, their revenues, or the rites and ceremonies of their worship, and those that have endeavoured to explain any of their authors from their statues or their coins.

Next to the ancients, those writers deserve to be mentioned, who, at the restoration of literature, imitated their language and their style with so great success, or who laboured with so much industry to make them understood: such were Philelphus and Politian, Scaliger and Buchanan, and the poets of the age of Leo the Tenth; these are likewise to be found in this library; together with the *Deliciæ*, or collections of all nations.

Painting is so nearly allied to poetry, that it cannot be wondered that those who have so much esteemed the one, have paid an equal regard to the other; and therefore it may be easily imagined, that the collection of prints is numerous in an uncommon degree; but surely the expectation of every man will be exceeded, when he is informed that there are more than forty thousand engraven from Raphael, Titian, Guido, the Caracci, and a thousand others, by Nantueil, Hollar, Callet, Edelinck, and Dorigny, and other engravers of equal reputation.

There is also a great collection of original drawings, of which three seem to deserve a particular mention, the first exhibits a representation of the inside of St. Peter's church at Rome; the second, of that of St. John Lateran; and the

third, of the high altar of St. Ignatius, all painted with the utmost accuracy in their proper colours.

As the value of this great collection may be conceived from this account, however imperfect; as the variety of subjects must engage the curiosity of men of different studies, inclinations, and employments, it may be thought of very little use to mention any slighter advantages, or to dwell on the decorations and embellishments which the generosity of the proprietors has bestowed upon it; yet, since the compiler of the Thuanian catalogue thought not even that species of elegance below his observation, it may not be improper to observe, that the Harleian library, perhaps, excels all others, not more in the number and excellence, than in the splendour of its volumes.

We may now surely be allowed to hope, that our catalogue will be thought not unworthy of the public curiosity; that it will be purchased as a record of this great collection, and preserved as one of the memorials of learning.

The patrons of literature will forgive the purchaser of this library, if he presumes to assert some claim to their protection and encouragement, as he may have been instrumental in continuing to this nation the advantage of it. The sale of Vossius's collection into a foreign country is, to this day, regretted by men of letters; and, if this effort for the prevention of another loss of the same kind should be disadvantageous to him, no man will hereafter willingly risk his fortune in the cause of learning.

1742, *Dec.*

III. Account of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, in the British Musæum.*

THIS collection was begun near the end of the last century, by Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, in Herefordshire, Esq. afterwards Earl of Oxford, and Lord High Treasurer; and was conducted upon the plan of the great Sir Robert Cotton.

He purchased his first considerable collection in August 1705, and in less than ten years he got together near 2,500 curious and rare MSS. among which were those of Sir Simon

* From the Preface to the New Index to that Collection compiled by Mr. Astle.

D'Ewes, the Suffolk antiquary ; Mr. John Stow, author of the Survey of London ; Mr. Charles, Lancaster Herald ; and John Fox, the Martyrologist.

Soon after, the celebrated Dr. George Hickes ; Mr. Anstis, Garter King at Arms ; Bishop Nicholson, and many other eminent antiquaries, not only offered him their assistance in procuring MSS. but presented him with several that were very valuable.

Being thus encouraged to perseverance by his success, he kept many persons employed in purchasing MSS. for him abroad, giving them written instructions for their conduct.

By these means, the MS. Library was in the year 1721, increased to near 6,000 books ; 14,000 original charters, and 500 rolls.

On the 21st of May 1724, Lord Oxford died : but his son Edward, who succeeded to his honours and estate, still farther enlarged the collection ; so that when he died, June 16, 1741, it consisted of 8,000 volumes several of them containing distinct and independent treatises, besides many loose papers, which have been since sorted and bound up in volumes ; and above 40,000 original rolls, charters, letters patent, grants, and other deeds and instruments of great antiquity.

The principal design of making this collection was the establishment of a MS. English Historical Library, and the rescuing from destruction such records of our national antiquities as had eluded the diligence of preceding collectors : but Lord Oxford's plan was more extensive ; for his collection abounds with curious MSS. in every science.

A general idea of the contents of this collection may be conceived from the following articles.

Of Bibles and Biblical Books, 300 copies in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Arabic, and Latin Languages, many of great antiquity, particularly,

A Hebrew bible several hundred years old, to which are prefixed the various readings of the Eastern and Western copies, a syllabus of the Parashoths and Haphtaroths for the whole year, and two remarkable drawings, in gold highly embossed, of the sacred vessels and utensils of the ancient Jews.

A Hebrew bible, with small Masoretic notes, adorned with miniature paintings, written in the 14th century.

A Latin bible, with St. Paul's epistle to the Laodiceans, finely illuminated, written in the 11th century, and formerly belonging to the cathedral of Anjou.

The Old and New Testament of the vulgate edition, elegantly written in the 13th century, with the psalter of the Gallican version; Rabanus Maurus's prefaces to his commentaries on the books of the Maccabees, and an interpretation of the Hebrew names, adorned with most beautiful miniatures. The reading of the 8th verse of the 5th chapter of St. John's first epistle in this MS. is, *Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et hi tres unum sunt.*

A transcript of the books of the Old and New Testament, written in the same century, and illuminated, formerly belonging to the Capuchin convent at Montpellier. In this MS. the 7th verse of the 5th chapter of St. John is wanting; and the reading of the 8th verse is, *Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et tres unum sunt.*

A copy of the Old and New Testament, with St. Jerome's prologue to the book of Job written in capitals, and of the 13th century.

Another copy, finely illuminated, written in the 13th century.

The most complete copy now extant of Peter de Riga's versification of the Latin bible, written in the 14th century.

A double roll, containing the Hebrew Pentateuch, written with great care in a very large character, and without points, or any horns or flourishes on the tops of the letters, on 40 brown African skins of different sizes, some containing more columns than others, and having a space of about four lines left between every two books.

The Hebrew Pentateuch, with a Chaldee paraphrase; and the books of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther; with the commentaries of R. S. Jarchi, and part of the Chaldee interpretation of the Canticles, written in the 14th century.

A small roll, containing the book of Esther in Hebrew, finely written in a very small character, and by a Spanish hand.

Part of the book of Psalms, and the entire books of Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Esdras, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Lamentations, in Hebrew, written in the 12th century.

Part of Exodus, and the whole book of Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Esther, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, in Hebrew, with the Haphtaroths; of the 14th century.

Two copies of the book of Job in Latin, one written in the 11th century; the other, with a gloss, in the 12th.

A fine copy of the books of Tobit, Judith, Ruth, and Wisdom, in Latin, with a gloss, written in the 13th century.

Two biblical books, upwards of 500 years old, being part of a most richly illuminated MS. the first vol. of which beginning at Genesis, and ending with Job, is preserved in the Bodleian Library [Arch. A. 154.] They consist of texts according to the vulgar Latin, selected from the books of Maccabees and New Testament, with the subject of each text, represented in a picture, included in a pretty large circle. Underneath each text is an interpretation in Latin, according to the opinion of the author, who generally applies such text to demonstrate the happiness of virtue and the misery of vice. These explications are also represented in historical paintings, and the whole is adorned with illuminated ornaments.

Three very fair copies of the New Testament, of Wickliff's translation, all written in his time, and one of them, as is supposed, by his own hand. To one of these copies is prefixed a calendar of the lessons and gospels of all the year. At the end are the epistles of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, and the lessons and epistles of the old "lawe, that ben red in the chirche all the yeere after the use of Salisbury."

The four gospels in Greek, with the canons of Eusebius, said in a note at the end of the MS. and in a hand nearly coeval with it, to be the proper hand-writing of King Theodosius the Great.

A most august copy of the Greek gospels, in capitals, written in the 11th century.

An ancient transcript of the Greek gospels, adorned with a great variety of historical paintings, and accompanied with an explanatory treatise on the evangelists and evangelical lessons, a menology, the canons of Eusebius written in illuminated blue and gold letters, his epistle to Carpian, the preface of Irenæus, and another preface taken from Cosma, the Egyptian's *Christianorum Opinio de Mundo, sive Topographia Christiana*; allowed to be at least as old as the 12th century. It is said in a note written on a spare leaf at the end of this MS. that it formerly belonged to a monastery, that took its appellation from the prophet Elias.

A fair copy of the Greek gospels, written in the 11th century, with the pictures of the Evangelists painted on gold crowns, and their names written on the margins in Arabic characters.

Two other copies of the Greek gospels, written in the 12th century, and another of the same age, adorned with the pictures of the Holy Virgin and Evangelists.

An elegant transcript of the four gospels in Greek, written in the 13th century, illuminated and adorned with paintings, and two others of the same century.

A most venerable exemplar of the four gospels of St. Jerome's version, with the prefaces and canons of Eusebius; the whole written in capitals, and allowed to be 1200 years old. In this MS. it is observable, that the genealogy of our blessed Saviour appears to be distinct, and separated from St. Matthew's gospel. The following words, in two independent lines, occurring after the 17th verse of that chapter :

*Genealogia Hucusque,
Incip. evangl. scđ. MATT^h.*

So that the gospel begins at the 18th verse of the first chapter, in the same manner as in the famous copy of the Evangelists written in Ireland, and in another MS. of the same kind, and of the twelfth century; which MSS. are both preserved in this library. It is also observable, that the like distinction or separation of the genealogy of our blessed Saviour, from the other part of St. Matthew's gospel, is made in the famous copy of the four gospels, formerly belonging to King Æthelstan, and now preserved in the Cottonian library (Tiberius, A. II.) which book was by him appointed to be used by the succeeding kings of England, at the time of their taking their coronation oath.

A noble exemplar of the four gospels, in capital letters of gold, written in the eighth century. Every page of the sacred text, consisting of two separate columns, is inclosed within a broad and beautifully illuminated border. The pictures of the Evangelists, with their symbolic animals, are curiously painted in the front of their respective gospels; the initial letter of each gospel is richly illuminated, and so large as to fill an entire page. To the whole are prefixed the prologues, arguments, and breviaries; two letters of St. Jerome to Damasus, the canons of Eusebius, his letters to Carpian, and a capitular of the gospels for the course of the year, all of them written in small golden characters.

A transcript of the Latin gospels, with their usual accompaniments; of the same age with the last MS. written in letters of gold, but of a small alphabet; and remarkable for the singular manner in which the genealogy of our Saviour is placed.

An exemplar of the holy gospels, likewise written in the 8th century, and formerly belonging to the church of St. Ciricius at Soissons. To this manuscript are prefixed the epistle to Damasus, and the usual arguments, prologues, &c. with an interpretation of Hebrew names, a catalogue of the books and vestments belonging to that church, and a list of its saints.

Two other copies of the four Latin gospels, also written in the 8th century. In the latter of these, the reading of the 23d verse of the last chapter of St. John's gospel is, "*Si sic eum volo manere donec veniam;*" and that of the 24th verse is, "*Si eum volo manere.*"

The four gospels of St. Jerome's version, with his prologues, arguments, &c. the canons of Eusebius, and the parallel passages, written in letters of gold in the 10th century. This MS. is adorned with pictures of the following subjects, painted on purple grounds, viz. before the gospel of St. Matthew, in a circle, are, the representation of our Saviour, sitting as enthroned; holding in his right hand the book of the new law, that of the old law lying in his lap; with the four evangelists in the angles, kneeling. 2dly, Our Saviour standing, with St. John resting his head on his bosom. 3dly, The portrait of St. Matthew. And 4thly, The salutation of the virgin. Before St. Mark's gospel are the portrait of that evangelist, and the dormition of the Virgin Mary. At the beginning of St. Luke's gospel are his portrait, and the crucifixion of our Saviour. Before the gospel of St. John, are the picture of that evangelist, and the ascension of our Lord.

Two other copies, written in the same century; one of them finely decorated with the pictures of the Evangelists and St. Jerome; and having the rubrics written in silver letters.

A very rare and valuable exemplar of the Latin gospels of the vulgate edition, once belonging to the abbey church of St. Edmund's Bury; elegantly written in the 10th century, but unhappily despoiled of the initial leaves of the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, probably for the sake of the illuminations. At the beginning of this volume is a syllabus of the evangelical lessons, according to the usage of the Roman church; and at the end is inserted the memorable contest between Gundulphus, bishop of Rochester, and Picote, sheriff of Grandbruge.

The Latin gospels, written with red ink, about the beginning of the 11th century, and in the Anglo-Norman character. In this MS. the genealogy of our Saviour is also

detached from the other part of St. Matthew's gospel; as is likewise the first part of the 18th verse of the first chapter, "Christi autem generatio sic erat." All the rubrics are written in gold capital letters; and the initial letter of each gospel is also of gold, and fills an entire page.

The four Evangelists, written in the Irish character, by Brigidianus, or Maol Brighte, for the use of Gilla, coarb, or vicar of the church of St. Patrick, supposed by Father Simon to be at least 700 years old. It is one of the most authentic copies of the Latin gospels, which the Irish have ever sent out of their island. To this exemplar are added, St. Jerome's prologue of the canons of the four gospels, an explanation of such Hebrew and Syriac names as occur in the gospels, a Hebrew, Latin, and Irish vocabulary, the usual prefaces, an interlineary gloss, and a *Catena Patrum*.

A transcript of the four Evangelists of the Latin vulgate, with various readings, in Irish characters.

The epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse in Latin, with the arguments, &c. above 1000 years old; prior to St. Jerome's corrections. The reading of the 8th verse of the 5th chapter of the first epistle to St. John, is in the manuscript, "Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt."

St. Paul's epistles in Arabic. The canonical epistles of St. Paul in Latin, with a gloss; his epistle to the Laodiceans, and an exposition of the gospel of St. John, written in the 12th century.

A Roman psalter of St. Jerome, written about the time of our King Edgar; illuminated; and each psalm elegantly embellished with a most curious historical drawing, illustrating the text. A psalter, with the litany, calendar, &c. elegantly written; illuminated and decorated with beautiful miniature paintings of the 11th century. A most curious and finely preserved psalter, in Greek, Latin, and Arabic, written in the 12th century. King Henry III.'s psalter, curiously illuminated; and written for his use by Thomas de Langley. A Greek psalter, with sacred hymns, of the 11th century. An extremely fine Greek psalter, of the 12th century; and another of the same age, once belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto. A Latin psalter, with sacred hymns, written in the 13th century. Two Arabic psalters, to one of which are subjoined a psalm composed on the slaying Goliah, and ten sacred canticles, extracted from the scripture. A Greek and Russian psalter. A Slavonic psalter. An exposition of the psalter in Latin, illuminated

and most accurately written in a hand of the 10th century; and a great variety of other valuable transcripts of the different biblical books, written in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries.

Cabbalas, Talmuds, and Talmudical books, Targums, Expositions, Glosses, and Commentaries on the Pentateuch, and other books of the Old Testament, in Hebrew, Chaldee, and other languages, compiled by the most celebrated Rabbins. Amongst these are, a very fine copy of Maimonides, de Lege, in Hebrew, and without points, written in 1472, by Salomon Bel Alzuk; and the Sepher a Misvot of Rabbi Moses Ben Jacob de Cosi; written in the beginning of the 15th century. A very beautiful transcript of Maimonides's Moreb Nebuchim, in Hebrew, written in small characters by a Spanish hand, and finely illuminated. R. Levi's Hebrew commentary on Job, written in the 14th century. Sundry very elegant and ancient copies of the liturgies of the German and other Jews; particularly a liturgy, &c. of the German Jews, written in the 13th century. The Machazor, or office of prayer, composed for their greater feasts, differing from the common printed liturgy, and written in the 14th century. The order of prayer, in which the rubrics are more ample than in the printed books. Transcripts of R. Jacob Ben Asher, and R. Ben Ezra's four orders; containing all the rites, customs, and ceremonies, as used by the Jews in their present dispersion.

Near 200 volumes of the writings of the Fathers: particularly a copy of part of the works of St. Hilary, written in the 9th century, and formerly belonging to the church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas of Arenstein. A fine transcript of St. Augustine's sermons on the gospel and first epistle of St. John, written in the 12th century, belonging to the same monastery. A beautiful exemplar of the same father's discourses on the book of Genesis, written in the 12th century; and another, containing his books "De Civitate Dei, et de Trinitate," written in the 13th century. St. Chrysostom's Greek homilies on the epistle to Timothy, written in the 13th century. The works of St. Athanasius in Greek, of the 14th century. The homilies of St. Basil, Ephraim Cyrus, and John Chrysostom, in Greek, written in the 14th century; and another copy of the same, with St. Gregory's encomium on St. George and St. Marina, likewise of the same age. As also ancient councils, canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, great variety of annotations, commentaries, expositions, harmonies of the four gospels, paraphrases,

histories of the Old and New Testament, &c. with a multitude of theological treatises, many of which are highly worthy to be consulted.

Liturgies and liturgical books; as the liturgies of SS. Chrysostom, Basil, and Nazianzen, of which there are in this collection two very fair copies in Greek, one with the prayers and evangelical and epistolical lessons, written in the 11th century, and the other written in the 14th century. The liturgy of the church of Syria. Two fair volumes, containing the Samaritan liturgy. The Russian liturgy. The liturgies of the Roman and Greek churches; particularly a most valuable exemplar of that of the latter; wherein the several offices, chants, hymns, and antiphones, are marked with Greek musical notes, according to the present usage of that church. A curious liturgy, adorned with beautiful paintings and illuminations; which, from the calendar of German saints inserted in it, is supposed to have formerly belonged to some church in Germany.

Missals, breviaries, and hours of the Holy Virgin, according to the use of the Roman, English, and Gallican churches; rituals, ordinals, books of offices, processional, and graduals; many of them curiously illuminated, and richly adorned with fine historical paintings; among these is, the missal of the church of Toul, in Lorrain, which, besides its exquisite paintings, is remarkable for having in the litany of saints, after the three holy archangels, one to the angel Uriel; notwithstanding several councils had strictly forbidden the invocation of more than the three first. A missal adorned with exquisite paintings, wherein the figures are represented of a larger size than usual; and to which is added a calendar, ornamented with several curious miniatures, wherein the several labours of the farm and vineyard throughout the year are curiously delineated. Two breviaries, painted in a most exquisite manner; to each of which is prefixed a calendar finely decorated with miniatures of saints, country sports, and employments, &c. As also many others.

Ancient evangelisteria and lectionaries; amongst which are, an evangelisterium, written in Greek capitals in the 9th century. An evangelisterium, in Greek capitals, written in the year 995, by Constantine, Presbyter: the first page thereof, and the references to the chapters, are in letters of gold. Another evangelisterium, adorned with pictures of the four evangelists finely painted, and the rubric written in letters of gold. At the end is a certificate, signed on the 10th of March, 1699, by Laurence Alexander Zacagnius,

principal librarian of the Vatican, testifying that this MS. was then upwards of 700 years old. Three evangelisteria, written in the 11th century; one of which is remarkable for being written on parchment, from whence the words of some other book have been erased. Also an elegant illuminated transcript of "Wickliff's Gospelis and Epistolis of all the festis in the yeer by ordre as thei ben red in the messe book after the use of Salisbery."

Store of menologies, martyrologies, and lives of saints; which, though they are to be read with great caution, yet furnish genuine matter of good note, and not readily to be met with elsewhere.

A variety of other books of religion and devotion; particularly a very fine copy of the *Passio Christi secundum Evangelistas*, with prayers to God and several saints, neatly written in Saxon characters, and in the 8th century. A book of prayers, benedictions, and exorcisms, in Latin, written in the 10th century. Wickliff's summary of the books of the Old and New Testament, with their authority and use to Christian men. His postils; and his notes on the *Pater-Noster*, with sundry other discourses. A book in the Armenian tongue, containing the Apostles' Creed, a history of the Bible, and a form of proper confession to be used before taking the holy sacrament. A translation into Persic of the history of our Saviour; written originally in the Portuguese tongue by Father Jerome Xaver. Ethiopic prayers. Several transcripts of the Alcoran, in Arabic, Persic, and other languages; and commentaries thereon. A collection of Mohammedan prayers, written in the Persic and Turkish tongues. The *Nadham*, or collection of sentences contained in the Alcoran; with the apophthegms of Mohammed. Three books of prayers in Arabic, two of them written in the African character. Together with other tracts on the Mohammedan religion.

An amazing number of curious and authentic manuscripts, relative as well to the topographical description and antiquities of Britain, as to the civil and ecclesiastical history of the kingdom; its laws, constitution, and government: this mine appears inexhaustible, and every vein full of the richest stores.

First, for the topographical part; histories and surveys of several counties, and the customs of their inhabitants; memorials of the founding and incorporation of cities, towns, boroughs, and villages, with the most remarkable events that have happened to each; their antiquities, and other curiosities. Accounts of the erections of temples, castles, and

other buildings; and of the remains (if any) of such as have been destroyed. The establishment and endowment of parishes, foundations of religious houses, books of ancient tenures, inquisitions *post mortem*, escheats, customaries, terriers of manors, perambulations of forests, accounts of ancient coin, monumental inscriptions, forts, camps, roads, military ways, and other antiquities, which have been casually discovered in particular places. Notes concerning the most remarkable rivers, mountains, mines, minerals, and other curiosities. A variety of tracts, and *memoranda*, relating to particular parts of England, as well in its pristine state, when separated into petty kingdoms, provinces, and principalities, during the times of the Britains, Romans, and Saxons, as subsequently, when under the dominion of one monarch, divided into counties, ridings, rapes, wapentakes, &c. As also the laborious collections made by Sir Symonds D'Ewes, John Fox, the martyrologist, Mr. Erdeswick, honest John Stow, Mr. Charles, Lancaster herald, and others.

Secondly, for the civil and ecclesiastical history; valuable copies of our ancient historians and chroniclers, as Gildas, Nennius, Asserius Menevensis, Ælfred of Beverly, Abbot Benedict, Castoreus or John Beaver, J. Brompton, Raulf Boun, Douglass, Monk of Glastonbury, Edmerus, Florence of Worcester, Robert of Gloucester, William Giseburn, R. Hoveden, Henry Huntingdon, Peter de Ickham, John Joselyne, R. Higden, Peter Langtoft, J. Lewis, Adam Murimuth, Geoffery of Monmouth, Robertus Montensis, John Pyke, Sir Walter Raleigh, Robert de Reading, Thomas Rudburne, Simeon of Durham, Richard Spote, Nicholas Trivett, John Wallingford, Thomas Walsingham, Walter of Coventry, Gotselinus de Sancto Bertino, and sundry anonymous authors of good value. A finely illuminated copy of John Harding's Chronicle, much more perfect than the edition published by Grafton, and containing the letter of defiance sent to King Henry IV. by the old earl of Northumberland, Henry Hotspur, his son, and the earl of Worcester, his brother, before the battle of Shrewsbury; some discourses of the same old earl, touching John of Gaunt; a map of Scotland, from Carlisle to the water of Tay; and another, from thence to Sutherland and Caithness; with sundry other matters omitted likewise by Grafton. A transcript of John de Trevisa's translation of Higdon's Polychronicon, differing from the account given of that work by Bale and Pitts; together with several other translations and compositions of Trevisa, not to be met with in any other

book. No less than four ancient copies of the *Polycratia Temporum* of Roger Cestrensis; from whence R. Higden stole his *Polychronicon*. The famous and very ancient copy of William Malmsbury's elaborate treatise *de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, which was formerly preserved with great religious care at Rochester. An exemplar of his four books, *de Gestis Pontificum*, written in the 12th century: and several transcripts of the *Dunstable Chronicle*, one whereof is most beautifully illuminated; and another adorned with the blazon of the arms of divers emperors and kings.

Chronicles and histories of abbeys, and other religious houses; as those of Abingdon, St. Alban's, Alnewick, Bermondsey, St. Edmund's Bury, St. David's, Hales, Litchfield, Ely, St. Paul's (London); and Peterborough.

III. Lives of particular kings, and histories of their reigns. As of Edward the Confessor; King Harold, of whose life and miracles here is a very fair copy, written in the 12th century. Henry I. Richard I. Henry III. Edward I. Edward II. and Edward III. The History of Richard II. written by Fran. de Marque, a French gentleman, attendant on the court in the queen's service; adorned with sixteen admirable paintings, wherein the principal persons and habits of those times are most accurately represented. As also those of Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV.

Many original instructions to ambassadors, and letters which passed between them and the chief ministers of their courts; together with authentic copies of an immense number of others.

Letters to and from foreign princes and states, negotiations, alliances, leagues, truces, and treaties of peace, commerce, and navigation.

Summons to parliament from the 49th of Henry III. to the 21st year of the reign of King Henry VIII. in many places larger and more correct than the work published under that title, by Sir William Dugdale. Transcripts of the rolls, journals, and *memoranda* of parliament; particularly a copy of the parliament rolls, beginning at the 4th year of King Edward II. and continued to the end of the last parliament of King Henry VIII. in thirty volumes; amongst which are the parliament rolls of the 5th, 8th, and 9th years of King Edward II. which are, with others, omitted by Sir Robert Cotton, in his abridgment of the Tower records, and by him supposed to have been lost. Journals of the House of Lords, from the first year of Henry VIII. to the end of the year 1710, 69 volumes. As also 111 other volumes, containing the Journals of the House of Commons, from the

first year (inclusive) of King Edw. VI. to the 8th day of March, 1701. A numerous collection of privileges and orders of parliament, and sundry papers relative to parliamentary affairs.

Proclamations, original letters, journals, and other books of the privy council.

Books of aids, subsidies, reliefs, taxes, granted to sundry particular kings of England; and accompt books of the product and disposal of the ancient demesne lands of the crown.

Letters, papers, books of docquets, &c. relative to the offices of the privy seal, signet, ordnance, admiralty, navy, victualling, customs, and excise. Three volumes of very interesting original papers and letters, which belonged to John Holles, duke of Newcastle, as lord privy seal to Queen Anne; giving a better insight into the transactions of those times, and the immense sums issued on account of the forces employed under the duke of Marlborough, than can easily be met with elsewhere.

Accounts of the public revenue, and national expenses. Books and papers of the household, and treasurer of the chamber. Inventories and indentures of the jewel office and wardrobe. Orders, proceedings, and accounts of the office of works. Laws and ordinances for management of the mint.

IV. Several large collections of letters and speeches of our kings, their chief ministers, and other persons of eminence; particularly four volumes, containing original letters by the royal family of England, from Henry VIII. to the end of King Charles I. Eighteen volumes of original letters of divers considerable persons, relating to public affairs, from the year 1307 to 1716. And two volumes, containing letters written to Henry, prince of Wales; together with original draughts of his own letters. The above volumes afford interesting anecdotes, particularly relative to Queen Elizabeth, James I. Charles I. and Charles II. unnoticed by the most elaborate writers of the English history; and may be justly deemed inestimable remains of the times to which they relate.

V. Histories of the first planting and propagating of Christianity in Britain, and its growth and increase under the British and Saxon prelates.

The lives and successions of English archbishops and bishops; particularly a most noble illuminated copy of the lives of the seven first archbishops of Canterbury, by Gotscelinus de Sancto Bertino, monk of St. Augustine's at Can-

terbury, in the time of St. Anselm; and of which the first part only, containing the life of St. Augustine, is published by Mr. Wharton.

Saxon and English councils, and the canons promulgated by them. Provincial and diocesan canons and constitutions.

The forms and manner of election, and consecration of archbishops and bishops: their jurisdictions, privileges, and courts. Surveys, terriers, and rentals of their possessions; taxations of their spirituals and temporals, and inquisitions relative to the state of their respective dioceses.

Lives and canonizations of sundry British, Saxon, and English saints.

VI. Authentic papers and memorials relating to the dissolution of religious houses, and the establishment of the reformation; particularly draughts of acts of parliament for their dissolution, some in the hand-writing of King Henry VIII. Inventories of plate, jewels, and other valuables belonging to them. Inquisitions, with the state of several episcopal dioceses, and the returns made thereto by the bishops. Accounts of the erection and proceedings of the court of augmentation; with four original and very valuable volumes belonging to that court.

Historical accounts of the succession, rights, forms, and instruments of elections of abbots, priors, and other superiors, and their officers. Chartularies, registers, and ledger books of sundry monasteries. The most accurate and valuable register of Dunstable, begun by Richard de Morins, the prior of that house, and carried on from the foundation of the priory by King Henry I. to the Reformation.

VII. Statutes of the two universities, and of their several colleges and halls, and a vast mass of other materials relating to their histories and antiquities; with a transcript of the proceedings of the convocation upon the divorce of Anne of Cleves, authenticated under the hands of public notaries.

VIII. Papers relating to the laws, polity, and civil government of England; divers copies of the laws of several of the Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman kings. Transcripts of divers of the Magnæ Chartæ of King Henry III. and an inspeximus and copy of his confirmation, both of the great charter, and of the similar one, sealed by Pr. Edward, at London, the 10th day of March, 1264. Transcripts of ancient statutes, never printed. Readings of them; and extracts of all the private acts of parliament remaining in the Rolls Chapel.

Historical accounts of, and memorandums relating to, baronies, serjeancies, knight fees, and other tenures. Copies of escheat, rolls, inquisitions *post mortem*, pleas of the crown, &c. and abundance of other law books.

Many treatises on the institution, establishment, and jurisdiction of the Exchequer, King's Bench, Common Bench, Courts of Wards and Liveries, Star Chamber, and Chancery; as also of the Courts Leet, Baron, Pye-Powder, and other inferior courts, the forms and methods of proceedings in them respectively, and accounts of their several offices, registers, and records.

Discourses on the antiquity, jurisdiction, and authority of the ancient great officers of the kingdom; to wit, the Marshal, Steward, Constable, and Admiral. The forms, ceremonies, and proceedings used in their courts; and extraordinary trials before them.

Original charters of our ancient kings, as Edward the Elder, Edgar, Hardicanute, and Edward the Confessor. The famous Charter of King Edgar, wherein he is styled *Marius Brit. Dominus*: which Dr. Hickes hath demonstrated to have been forged after the Norman conquest. A curious book, covered with crimson velvet, and adorned with bosses and hasps of silver gilt and enamelled; the cover and all the leaves indented at the top; containing four original Indentures of Covenant, illuminated and embellished with historical miniatures, dated the 16th of July, in the 19th year of King Henry VII. and made between that king and the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter's, Westminster, for certain masses to be for ever after said in the chapel of the Virgin Mary, then determined to be built at the east end of that church, as a place of reception of the bodies of the king, queen, and royal family; and for other purposes. To this indenture book, five broad seals of King Henry VII. preserved in silver boxes, and ornamented with his badges of the portcullis and rose sprigs, are appendant by strings of silk, and gold and silver thread,

IX. Heraldical and armorial books, particularly forms of appointing and crowning kings at arms, and of the establishment of their subordinate officers, tricks of arms, and ensigns armorial. Tracts on the order of the garter, pedigrees of most of the nobility and gentry of England, with notes, monumental and fenestral inscriptions illustrating their family histories.

X. Register-books, chartularies, and other evidences of the estates of our ancient nobility.

XI. Ceremonials, Poms, and Solemnities; as the coronations of most of our kings and queens from the time of the Anglo-Saxons, to that of King George II. Public entries, introductions, receptions, and feastings of royal and princely visitors, foreign ambassadors, &c. with the forms of their departures, and accounts of the presents made to them on those occasions. Tilts, journeys, justs, royal masks, and other public entertainments, public processions and cavalcades. Funerals of kings, queens, princes, and great personages allied to the royal family, and also of persons of quality and distinction.

XII. In regard to Wales, here are topographies, descriptions, and general histories of the principality.

Natural and civil histories of several of its counties, surveys of commotes, and extent of lands.

Statutes touching the Lords Marchers, and orders for the observance of the council of Wales.

Transcripts of the laws of Howel Dha; collections of particular laws and customs prevailing in different parts of the principality; accounts of the revenue arising from the principality; lists of fee-farm rents; and pleas of Quo Warranto upon liberties claimed.

The histories of Welsh heroes, by Threes, and many pedigrees and genealogies of families, with three volumes of useful materials, extracted by Mr. Hugh Thomas from a multitude of public records, and private evidences, in order to his compiling a genealogical history of the nobility and gentry of Wales, and the several families descended from them, now living in England.

XIII. Materials relative to the civil and ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

Descriptions, histories, chronicles, and state of the kingdom.

A remarkable transcript of John Fordun's *Scotochronicon*, and Baston's verses on the battle of Bannocks Bourne, written in the year 1484, for the use of William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, by his domestic chaplain Magnus Maculloch, a priest of the diocese of Ross, supposed to be either the famous Black Book of Schone, or the St. Andrew's copy, or perhaps the original of both.

The chronicle of Andrew Wintone, in verse. Ker's, Lindsey's and other chronicles.

A fine copy of the chronicle of Mailros.

The life of King David I. written by Alred, Abbot of Rievaulk.

Transcripts of public instruments concerning the vas-

salage of Scotland, and the sovereignty of England over it, which are omitted by Rymer and Harding.

Achievements, arms, pedigrees, &c. of the nobility and principal gentry of Scotland.

The journal of the treaty of union; and a multitude of valuable and interesting papers of state, particularly, a transcript of public instruments concerning the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin of France, letters on sundry occasions from Mary Queen of Scots Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Thomas Smith, the Earl of Murray, Queen Elizabeth, &c. and other pieces unnoticed by all writers, but extremely useful in settling many controversial points of the history of that unfortunate princess, and conducive to the disclosing and clearing up the mysterious intrigues carried on during her troubles in France, Scotland, and England.

Historical accounts of the state of the church of Scotland.

XIV. Materials for the history and antiquities of Ireland. As, chorographies of the kingdom, and topographical descriptions of its provinces.

Ancient and other histories, chronicles and annals, ecclesiastical and civil; particularly,

A copy of the history and prophecies of that country, written in the 10th century, and in the old Irish language.

Many curious pedigrees, with the arms and histories of the principal nobility.

A very ancient transcript of two remarkable pieces of the old municipal laws of Ireland, with commentaries and glosses thereon. The text in this manuscript is so very ancient, as to be coeval with the times the pieces relate to. The one being seemingly part of the *Bretanime*, or *Judicia Cœlestia*, with the trial of Euna, brother to Legarius, chief king of Ireland, for the murder of Oraue, chariot driver to St. Patrick, before Dubhthac, the chief *Filadha*, or King's Bard; who, on that solemn occasion, acted as sole Brehon, or judge, with the sentence passed thereon in the year 420. The other; the great sanction or constitution of Nine, made in favour of Christianity in Ireland, Anno 439, by three kings, three bishops, and three sages.

XV. Many ancient copies of the Greek and Latin classics and historians.

XVI. Lexicons, Glossaries, and Dictionaries of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Welsh, Chinese, Persic, Arabic, German, Courlandic, Saxon, English, Spanish, and Turkish languages, particularly the Arabic Dictionary of Abu Nasr Ismael, filius Hamad al Farabi, Al-Turki, with the supplement

of Sherfo'ddin, Al-Hasan filius Mohamedis, surnamed Alsagani, written in the beginning of the 13th century.

XVII. Chorographies, Antiquities, Histories, Chronicles, &c. of France, and other countries. Elaborate genealogies of their kings, princes, and illustrious houses; and a multitude of tracts and authentic papers, explanatory of their laws, customs, revenues, polity, and government; amongst which are,

Gesta Francorum in Bello Sacro, written in the 11th century. A chronicle from Adam, of the 9th century.

Liubrandi Ticiensis Chronicon, written in the 10th century.

Also a beautiful transcript of the 4th and last volumes of Froissart's chronicle, elegantly illuminated, and having the subject of each chapter represented in an historical miniature painting, highly finished, and placed at the head of it. The other volumes of this curious work are preserved in the French King's library, and are esteemed among its principal ornaments.

XVIII. Histories of Popes, and the transactions of the See of Rome; particularly three remarkable volumes, the original registers of the Roman chancery, secretly brought from Rome upon the death of Pope Innocent XII. by Mons. Aymone, who was Apostolic Prothonotary of that court. They contain the rules to be observed by the clerks, and obedientiaries of the Roman chancery, in expediting papal bulls, briefs, mandates, dispensations and grants; a list of fines payable by ecclesiastics to the Roman See, in all countries under its subjection, on their being admitted to Patriarchal, Metropolitan, Cathedral, or Conventual Churches; fees and fines payable for indulgences, licences, and plenary absolutions, as well in criminal as civil cases; and a variety of other interesting matters, demonstrating the impositions practised to fill the pope's coffers.

XIX. A great number of Poems, Essays, Ditties, Ancient Ballads, Plays, and other poetical pieces in almost every modern language; many of them unpublished, and others extremely useful to such as shall undertake to give new and correct editions of the works of such poets, particularly those of our own country as have been already printed. Amongst them are,

A very ancient and fair transcript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and a copy of his history of *Troilus and Cressida*, the *Knight's Tale*, the *Man of Law's Prologue and Tale*, the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, and the clerk of *Oxenforde's Tale*, neither of which MSS. seem to have been used by the

editors of Chaucer; the text in both differing in many places from all other MSS. of that author, as well as from the printed copies of his poems.

A large volume, being a collection of ancient and valuable poems on curious subjects, by Chaucer, Lydgate, and other English poets; amongst these is a poem of Chaucer's addressed to his empty purse, and consisting of twenty stanzas, though no more than the three first have been published. This poem is the more curious, as it informs us of some circumstances of Chaucer's life little known.

A fair transcript or translation of Lydgate's paraphrase into English verse, of Boccace's treatise *De Occasu Principum*, illuminated and embellished with historical miniature paintings; being the author's present-book to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, by whose command he undertook the work.

Lydgate's lives of St. Edmund and St. Fræmund, with divers of his other poems, illustrated with 120 very elegant historical pictures of different sizes; besides other embellishments of illuminated letters, &c. so as to render it the finest manuscript in the English language, written in the time of King Henry VI. whose book this was, being presented to him by its author.

A large and beautifully illuminated copy of the *Confessio Amantis* of John Gower, containing a collection of the principal pieces of Chaucer and Gower, finely written and ornamented.

An historical, political, and moral poem, consisting of 320 stanzas; the subject is the unfortunate reign of King Edward II. whose ghost is introduced as relating his transactions and disasters. The author, who is supposed to be Mr. Edmund Spenser, addresses this poem to Queen Elizabeth. Also the same poem revised and corrected by many alterations, and fitted up for the perusal of King James I.

A very fair and beautiful transcript of the celebrated poem entitled, *Le Roman de la Rose*, begun in French verse, by William de Lorris, continued and finished by John Clopinel, alias John Moone, of Mewen upon the river Loyer. This manuscript is richly ornamented with a multitude of miniature paintings, executed in the most masterly manner. It is probably the copy which was presented to Henry IV. the blazon of his arms being introduced in the illuminations, with which the first page of this work is embellished.

Many original poems, by John Lydgate, Gower, Trevisa, &c.

XX. A large collection both of ancient and modern musical compositions, with curious anecdotes relating to their authors, written for the most part by Mr. Wanley, by whom they were amassed, he being not only a great judge of music, but a very able composer.

XXI. Books of Architecture, Geometry, Gunnery, Fortification, Ship-building, and Military Affairs; particularly a large volume written in High Dutch, soon after the invention of fire arms, being a treatise on military affairs, illustrated with a great number of fine drawings in water colours, representing the proper forms of marches, encampments and dispositions of armies; orders of battle, attacks, sieges, and storms of forts, towns, and castles; draughts of ships of war, fire-ships, and fleets, bridges of timber and stone, hydraulic engines, tools, instruments, and warlike machines of every kind; and the form of the ancient British chariot.

XXII. Natural History, Agriculture, Voyages, Travels, &c. particularly an Herbarium, written in Saxon, and in the 10th century.

A very valuable volume of Geoponics, in Greek, with Scholia, not hitherto published, written upon silken leaves, and near 500 years old.

XXIII. Many rare MSS. in Astronomy, Cosmography, and Geography.

XXIV. A vast variety of Alchymical, Chymical, Chirurgical, Pharmaceutical, and Medical Tracts, one whereof, being a treatise in High Dutch, on the process for finding the philosopher's stone, formerly belonging to the famous M. Cyprianus, from whose neice, Mrs. Priemer, it was purchased, and presented to Edward E. of Oxford. This book is divided into a great number of chapters; on the back of the last leaf of each chapter the subject thereof is represented in an emblematical picture, in which the beauty of its colouring, the disposition of the figures, the elegance of their attitudes, and the propriety of composition is scarcely to be equalled.

XXV. A great number of volumes of original letters, and authentic transcripts of others, written as well by sundry persons who have been eminent for their high stations in the state, as by those who were remarkable for their literary accomplishments.

Lastly, a prodigious variety of MSS. which, exclusive of their importance in other respects, are highly valuable on account of the many beautiful illuminations and excellent paintings; those pictures being not only useful for illustrating

the subject of the books in which they are placed, but furnishing excellent lessons and useful hints to painters, perpetuating the representations of the principal personages, buildings, utensils, habits, armour, and manners of the age in which they were painted, and very probably preserving some pieces of eminent painters, of whose works no other remains are extant. Some of these MSS. have already been occasionally mentioned, and to them must be added;

A most noble copy of Bishop Grossthead's *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, every page whereof is decorated with admirable pictures explanatory of its contents.

A translation of Valerius Maximus into French, by Simon de Hesdin, and Nicolas de Gonesse, comprised in four large volumes, with fine historical paintings placed at the head of each book, representing the principal subjects treated of therein; together with another copy of the four last books of the same work, embellished with paintings in the like manner, and by the same hand as the former.

A most noble volume, consisting of the *Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans*, represented in paintings.

A volume, entitled, *Le Tresor de Maistre Jehan de Meun*, with paintings.

The four elements and four seasons, painted by J. Bailly and intended as patterns of tapestry for the French king.

1763, *April, May, July, August.*

IV. Signification of Words, how varied.

MR. URBAN,

ONE of the most peculiar circumstances relating to language is the mutation of the sense of words, in different ages, so that the same word to which a good meaning was formerly affixed, may now have a signification directly opposite. This happens so universally, that, I believe, no language, whether ancient or modern, has been exempted from it; but the change proceeds so slowly and insensibly, that the life of one man is not sufficient to afford him an opportunity of perceiving the change. With regard to our own language, if we look into those authors who flourished a century and a half ago, numerous instances will occur; and the reading of the following passage in Turberville's 2d *Eclogue*, a gentleman who was educated at Oxford, and wrote in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, led me into this observation.

Among the rest of all the route,
 A passing proper *lass*,
 A white-hair'd *trull* of twenty yeares,
 Or neere about, there was;
 In stature passing all the rest,
 A gallant *girl* for hewe;
 To be compar'd to townish *nymphs*,
 So faire she was to viewe.
 Her forehead cloth with gold was purld
 A little, here and there;
 With copper clasp about her neck
 A kerchief did she weare,
 That reached to her breast and paps;
 The *wench* about her waist,
 A gallant gaudy ribande had,
 That girt her body fast.

Here we find the poet in describing an innocent country beauty, does not scruple to call her a *trull*, which now signifies a strumpet. Dr. Swift says,

So Mævius, when he drained his skull,
 To celebrate some suburb *trull*:
 His similies in order set,
 And ev'ry crambo he could get;
 And gone thro' all the common places,
 Worn out by wits who rhyme on faces;
 Before he could his poem close,
 The lovely nymph had lost her nose.

In the same manner Turberville puts *wench* for a *young woman*, which is now rarely used, but by way of contempt, and seems to be threatened with the same fate that *trull* has received. The alteration of *knave*, which formerly signified 'a servant,' and of *villain*, 'a sort of slave,' is generally known. *Pedant* anciently meant 'a schoolmaster;' thus Shakespeare in his Twelfth Night mentions

"A *pedant* that keeps a school i'th' church."

But this word now gives an idea of a stiff, formal, and unpolished man of literature. Thus Addison in his Whig Examiner:

"The remaining part of the preface has so much of the *pedant*, and so little of the conversation of man in it, that I shall pass over it."

And Swift,

In learning let a nymph delight,
The *pedant* gets a mistress by't.

In like manner, *leech* anciently signified a 'physician:'

And straightway sent with careful diligence,
To fetch a *leech*, the which had great insight
In that disease of grieved conscience;
And well could cure the same: his name was *Patience*.

Spenser's Fairy Queen.

Even Dryden uses it in this sense:

Wise *leeches* will not vain receipts obtrude,
While growing pains pronounce the humours crude;
Deaf to complaints they wait upon the ill,
'Till some safe crisis authorise their skill.

Roscommon has thus described the insect which has now usurped this name by being used in bleeding:

Sticking like *leeches* till they burst with blood.

Leechcraft was also used for *physic*:

We study speech, but others we persuade,
We *leechcraft* learn, but others cure with it.

Sir John Davis.

"The word *dame*," says Dr. Watts, in his Logic, "originally signified a mistress of a family, who was a lady, and it is used still in the English law to signify a *lady*; but in common use now-a-days it represents a farmer's wife, or a mistress of a family of the lower rank in the country."

Though the cause of such mutations may be principally ascribed to the caprice of mankind, yet much may be imputed to words being debased by vulgar use. An instance of this kind we have in the word *lawyer*, a name vulgarly given to every the meanest pettifogger; every farrier, little apothecary, or surgeon's mate, is also commonly honoured with the title of *doctor*; even chimney doctors are become frequent. So that *doctor* and *lawyer* will, perhaps, in time undergo the same change, with *leech* and *pedant*, though *physician* and *counsellor* still retain their dignity.

However, it is hoped, that our language will be more fixed, and better established when the public is favoured

with a new dictionary, undertaken with that view, and adapted to answer several other valuable purposes; a work now in great forwardness.

1749, Feb.

W. S.

V. The sense of IMPROBUS, as used in Virgil.

———Labor omnia vincit
Improbus. *Virg. Geo. I. 145.*

SCARCELY any passage in Virgil is more commonly quoted, and yet none seems to be so little understood. It has passed almost into a proverb; and the verb is usually expressed in the present tense, and the sense affixed to it by all the commentators, and all the translators that I have seen, is, *Hard labour surmounts all difficulties*. Upon the single authority of this place, all our dictionaries likewise have agreed to render IMPROBUS, *hard, excessive, constant*.

To justify this sense of the word, Dr. Trapp refers his reader to another passage in Virgil, *Æneid* xii. 687.

Fertur in abruptum magno mons *improbus* actu,
Exultatque solo.

Here, says he, *mons improbus* is the *huge mountain*.

But why may not *improbus* be used here in one of its ordinary significations for *destructive, mischievous, pernicious*? The following words,

———Sylvas, armenta, virosque
Involvens secum,

describing the mischiefs occasioned by its fall, prove that it ought to be so understood. Thus *improbus anser*, *Georg.* I. 118. *Improbus anguis*, *Georg.* III. 431, are the *mischievous gander and snake*.

In the passage before us, *improbus* is the same as *impius*, wicked, as will be evident to any one that will but read the foregoing lines, beginning at the line 121,

———Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
Movit agros, *curis* acuens mortalia corda;

where Jupiter is represented by the poet as designing to

render husbandry a work of difficulty. Before his time the ground stood in no need of culture :

Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni, &c.
Ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris.

To relieve themselves from these mischiefs brought upon them by Jupiter, mankind had recourse to various inventions :

Tum variæ venere artes.

And this their opposition to the will of Jupiter, which, in the opinion of the poet, was no less than *impious*, prevailed over all obstacles, and made the art of tillage easier than Jupiter at first intended it should be.

—————Labor omnia vincit
Improbis.

Parallel to this, is that passage of Horace,

Necquicquam Deus abscidit
Prudens oceano dissociabiles
Terras, si tamen *impiæ*
Non tangenda rates transiliant vada.

The sailors are here called *impious*, because in passing the seas they opposed the will of Jupiter, who designed they should have been *non tangenda*, ‘impassable.’

MARONIDES.

1749, *March.*

VI. On the Rebus and Ænigma.

MR. URBAN,

NO small number of your friends and correspondents, I observe, are employed about that species of the Ænigma, or Riddle, called a *Rebus*; for no sooner has one part of them be enracking their invention to envelope some plain name in a dark and puzzling colour; but others are immediately exerting their sagacity to decypher it, and trying to crack the shell: and you, Sir, from the benignity of your temper, are disposed to gratify both parties, at least so far as you are able, by inserting in your monthly entertainment their innocent amusements, for amusements they are, and innocent,

which surely is saying a great deal; but I may add, for the pleasure and satisfaction of their admirers, that they are withal very ancient. For passing by the monkish ages, which hardly deserve the name of antiquity, and that large harvest which the heralds afford, and of which enough may be read in Camden's Remains, there want not instances of these allusions, this sporting with words, this mixture of words and things, even in the remotest times. To give a few examples:

History tells us, that Cyrus the Great was nursed by a *bitch*, that is, as I apprehend it, his nurse's name was *Spaco*, which, in the language of the Medes, as Herodotus informs us, signified a *bitch*; and so it does at this day in the Hyrcanian tongue, according to Tanaq. Faber, in his commentary upon Justin, Lib. i. We have a similar example, and much better known, in the Roman history; the two brothers, Romulus and Remus were suckled by a *wolf*. See Livy, Lib. i. The truth was, that the good woman's name who took them to her breast was *Lupa*. "Sunt," says Livy, "qui Larentiam, vulgato corpore, Lupam inter pastores vocatam putent: unde locum fabulæ ac miraculo datum." Lactantius makes great use of this confession of Livy, and thereupon reports the following Grecian story, very much to our purpose, of one Leæna, who had been instrumental in destroying Hipparchus: she was a strumpet, and because it was improper to erect a statue of a woman of her character in the temple, the Athenians placed the effigy of a *lioness* there, according to the import of her name.

Nobody needs desire a truer rebus than that of Virgil, Eclog. III.

Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum
Nascantur flores;

alluding to the hyacinth, which takes its name, as the fables relate, from Hyacinthus, a favourite youth, accidentally killed by Apollo. See Ruæus, or Dr. Martin, from whom it appears that the flower bore both the character of Hyacinth and of Ajax.

There is another as clear in the second book of that masterly piece, the *Æthiopics* of Heliodorus, a work which certainly deserves a better edition. It is the story of Chariclea and Theagenes, and the author very appositely introduces the priestess of Apollo delivering an oracle (and nothing could be better adapted to the manner of the ancient oracles) in these artificial and ambiguous terms, alluding to the composition of their respective names:

Τὴν χάριν ἐν πρῶτοις, αὐτὰρ κλέος ὕστατ' ἐχούσαν,
Φραζέσθ', ὦ Δελφοί, τὸν τε θεὸς γενετήν.

Χάρις, κλέος, *Chariclea*.
Θεὸς γενετῆς, *Theogenes*.

Sigonius has engraved and explained a coin of Julius Cæsar's, (which is indeed common enough) with an *elephant* upon it, because the word Cæsar in the Punic language, as is testified both by Servius and Spartian, denoted an *elephant*.

But what is most remarkable, some of the fathers of the church, called our Saviour ἰχθὺς, piscis, Tertullianus de Baptismo, p. 124, the letters of which word are severally the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεὸς υἱὸς σωτήρ.

And to name no more, of the same kind is that expression of *the number of the beast*, Rev. xiii. 18, which, ch. xv. 2, is called *the number of his name*, where the sublime author follows the ancient custom of representing the name by numerals, as on the contrary *number* was often expressed by artificial names.—Thus the technical words Μειθρας and Αβραξας meant the sun, because the component letters numerically taken amounted to 365, that is, 365 days, in which the sun finished his annual course. The Greek word Νειλος, the river Nile, in like manner expresses the number 365, as is particularly taken notice of by the admirable author above-mentioned. Heliodorus, Lib. ix. This was according to the Greeks; for otherwise Μειθρας and Νειλος, had an etymology and signification of their own. The Basilidian heretics were fond of these fictitious names, and were the coiners of that barbarous word Abraxas, by which, as St. Hierome thinks, they meant Mithras, and which, with its companions Μειθρας and Νειλος is to be resolved thus:

A	M	N	1	40	50
B	E	E	2	5	5
P	I	I	100	10	10
A	Θ	Δ	1	9	30
Ξ	P	O	60	100	70
A	A	Σ	1	1	200
Σ	Σ		200	200	
			365	365	365

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

1753, Jan.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

WHEREAS the Spectator* of glorious and immortal memory, has tried and convicted the *Rebus* of a complication of crimes, of ignorance, false taste, and folly; and condemned it for a spurious and unnatural excrescence of wit; in pursuance of which condemnation it ought immediately to have been banished these kingdoms, and never to have appeared here again.

And whereas, notwithstanding the censure and condemnation it then received, it begins to make a fresh appearance and to meet with a kind reception and visible encouragement in your Magazine: it is therefore high time, in order to curb and restrain this growing evil, and to prevent the further effusion of all such spurious wit, and elaborate trifles, to enter into an inquiry after the origin and name, as well as the nature of a *Rebus*; and to bring it once more forth, and to expose it to open view, and to make a public example of it, that so they who are guilty of such a profanation of wit may be ashamed any longer to persist therein, and they who are yet innocent, may, by their example, learn to beware.

The word *Rebus* is taken from the ablative case plural of the noun *Res*, and in its literal sense denotes the intimation, or signification, a man gives of his opinion, affection, or intention, by *things*, instead of *words*, and the making material and visible objects the interpreters of our hearts, and the signs and tokens of the ideas which (without words) we would communicate to any of our fellow-creatures.

Where words are wanting, or where men of two different languages meet together; or where words either spoken or written are liable to be fished out, or intercepted; or where we are inclined to convey our minds in a manner more especially striking and emphatical; on these and all such like occasions, significant emblems and expressive signs are either absolutely necessary or highly convenient; and it many times so falls out that a visible model, a rude sketch, or imperfect delineation, causes a quicker apprehension, a deeper impression, and a stronger conviction than the most literal descriptions, or florid metaphors are able to produce. In any such case a *Rebus* was proper and beautiful, and fully answered the above-mentioned etymology of the word and end, and design for which it was made use of, and herein

its true nature did consist; but afterwards models and copies of things, as well as originals, and gestures and actions, as well as sensible objects, came by use and custom to be reckoned in the same class, and to pass under the general denomination of a *Rebus*. To give you a few instances of these several kinds of a *Rebus*,—

When King Darius sent to the Scythians to demand earth and water, instead of a verbal reply, they sent him a *bird*, a *frog*, and a *mouse*, together with *five arrows*, leaving him to extract their answer from these symbols; and, as I remember, Buchanan, in his History of Scotland, tells us, that when a friend of Robert Bruce wanted to draw him away from the English court to Scotland, he sent him a pair of spurs and ten broad pieces.

Another kind of *Rebus* is either an actual model, or a representation in basso relievo, or a graphical delineation in shades and colours, of *animals*, *rivers*, *trees*, *mountains*, or *castles*, in the manner of the Egyptian hieroglyphics; where these copies are either carved, engraved, or painted; and the sense and meaning of the author is to be gathered from a judicious interpretation, and apt connection of these figures.

A third species of a *Rebus* is, when pregnant actions are performed, and gestures made use of, expressive and significant of the secret sentiments, advice, and admonition of the authors of them; under which class that action of Tarquin in striking off the heads of the most eminent poppies in his garden, will for ever remain an illustrious example.

To these three species of mental interpretation, or dumb expression, we freely allow the word *Rebus* to be truly and properly applied, and under these precise limits we absolutely confine and restrain the word. According, therefore, to this standard thus formed and established, let us now consider and examine the modern *Rebus*, so frequent in the magazines, and see how well it agrees and tallies therewith.

Now in order to the formation and construction of a modern *Rebus*, a word or name of some place, person, or object, must be sought out and made choice of, which when found and fixed upon, must be laid down and stretched forth in order for an anatomical dissection. It may consist of two, three, or four syllables, the more the merrier, then it must be disjointed and laid open in all its parts. If a compound, the several ingredients of that composition are to be separated one from another, to be laid apart and examined distinctly. If it be no compound, then it is to be resolved into its syllables, and afterwards into its simple elements; the vowels are to be considered in one light, the consonants in another;

the letters are to be surveyed in their natural order, then in their numerical capacity, then with a view to the word or words they are able to produce, by inversion or transposition in their own or any foreign tongue, in any living or dead language. Thus is the poor word forced to undergo a most dreadful inquisition, to be cast into a variety of forms, and examined under every different shape and posture it is able to endure; it is put to the rack and mangled and tortured without mercy, neither is it suffered to have a moment's rest, so long as there is the least sense of life, or drop of blood remaining in it.

If the three or four initial letters of that word happen in the same order to be three or four initial letters of some other word, whether belonging to land, sea, air, or fire, to animal or vegetable, to any art, science, or profession, or whether belonging to the French, Greek, Latin, or our own mother tongue; and if the things themselves couched under those words, be as wide from, and as contrary to each other, as light is to darkness, and truth to falshood, yet you are to take two or three quarters of that (not *thing* but) word, which in like manner added to other parts of other words, which happen to agree in the same letters, till you have by this means gone through the whole word, and then after joining and cementing all these parts, thus collected into one word, you are called upon and invited to a *wild goose chase**, to trace out and extract the wonderful mystery that lies covered and enveloped under this cloud of words; and this ænigma, thus formed and constructed, when covered over with a poetical dress, and tagged with rhyme, is thenceforth dignified and distinguished by the style and title of a *Rebus*; a name as properly derived from *Res*, and applied to such conundrums, as *Lucus* is from *Lux*, *quia, non lucet*.

An example will fully illustrate this affair: the word *Birmingham*, after it is properly dissected and disjointed, will appear thus, *Bir-min-g-ham*; then say,

Take three-fourths of a creature which many admire,
That is often confined in a castle of wire;
Three-fourths of an herb that a garden doth yield,
And a term used by husbandmen ploughing the field;
With that part of a swine that is now much in fashion,
And a town you'll discover in this brave English nation.

* *Wild goat's chase*, we are informed, is the right expression. E.

From which poetical composition, if you are endowed with a proper degree of sagacity, and a great share of patience, you may at length extract the several constituents of the word *Birmingham*, and after having unravelled the important mystery, and forced the citadel, notwithstanding all its deep intrenchments, you may then, in an extasy of joy, cry *Εὐρηκα*, and be amply rewarded for your pains and trouble by the satisfaction of so happy a discovery. A modern Rebus therefore is a flat contradiction, pretending to deal with *things*, when all the while it is concerned only in letters, syllables, and words; it is nothing but a mere shadow of a species of false wit; it has no foundation in nature, but only in the mere arbitrary formation and casual similitude of words; its subsistence is entirely precarious and liable to be lost and destroyed, together with the words on which it depends; do but offer to translate a Rebus into another language, and the charm is immediately dissolved, and the wit, whatever there was, is all vanished into smoke.—I would, therefore, recommend the study and composition of the modern Rebus to men whose knowledge is confined to words, and no ways conversant in *things*, whose senses lead them to thrash, sift, and grind words down to powder, and thence to work them up again into whatever form or similitude they please; I would likewise recommend to their care the Anagram and Acrostic, and suffer them in good weather, as often as they please, to amuse and divert themselves with the echo: in doing which they will follow some great examples, and I would have them henceforth known and distinguished by the style and title of *word catchers*.

And as for you, Mr. Urban, I think you would act a judicious part, and agreeable to the majority of your readers, if you would lay all the *Ænigmas*, *Conundrums*, *Anagrams*, and *Acrostics*, by themselves, together with all the *Rebuses*, that your correspondents furnish you with, and, when they rise to a sufficient number, to publish them in a supplement separate from your other *Magazines*, by which means other more useful materials may be inserted in their room, and *your Magazine* may be free from the imputation of delighting in and encouraging any such low and spurious productions, and wretched pretensions to taste and wit. If you approve of and comply with this request, you will very much oblige

Your humble servant,

1753, *July*.

MISO-GOTH.

VII. TEXT and GLOSS, whence derived.

MR. URBAN,

THE busy and inquisitive nature of man is not content with knowing things are so, but will be prying into the causes and occasion of them; and this curiosity, which is certainly very laudable, when restrained within proper bounds extends even to languages, in which there is hardly a word, a metaphor, or an allusion, but what we want to know the bottom and original of; for, though the meaning of the several expressions be well enough understood, that does not satisfy, but we are desirous of knowing, at the same time, *how* they came to import such and such things. Hence arise philology, etymology, annotations upon authors, books of rhetoric, and the like helps of literature, which, since the restoration of it, about 300 years ago, have been so well received in the world.

There are few, for example, who are ignorant of the sense and meaning of the word *text*, but how it grew to signify the *word of God*, many, perhaps, would be glad to know. We have it from the Romans, who, from the similitude subsisting between spinning and weaving, and the art of composing, both in verse and prose, applied to the latter several expressions proper to the former; hence Horace,

— tenui deducta poemata filo,

and Cicero, *texere orationem*, and *contexere carmen*. Amongst the later Roman writers *textus* occurs often in the sense of a *piece* or *composition*, and *κατ' ἐξοχην* came to denote *the word of God*, just as the general word *scriptura* also did. But this is not all; the method of writing the scriptures (and some few other books) before the art of printing was invented, was thus, as I here represent it, from an old MS. of the New Testament, of the vulgate version, now before me.

MATTHEW vii. 23.

Et tunc confitebor illis, quia

Non novit lux tenebras 1. non aspicit, quas si aspiceret, tenebræ non essent.

in nullo approbavi, sed reprobavi.

nunquam novi vos. dis-

cedite a me omnes qui opera

quia
non hos novit, ergo eos qui mandata ejus custodiunt.
mini iniquitatem.

qui operamini: non dicit eis operati estis, ne tollat penitentiam; sed qui in judicio, licet non habeatis facultatem peccandi tamen habetis affectum.

The sentences at the sides are the *gloss*; the middle, which is in a larger hand, is the *text*; and between the lines of that, is put the *interlineary gloss*, in which place a translation or version in some ancient MSS. in the Cottonian and other libraries, is sometimes inserted. The *text* here means *the word of God*, as opposed to the *gloss*, both the *lateral* and the *interlineary gloss*; and because the text was usually written, as in this MS. in a very large and masterly hand, from thence, a large and strong hand of that sort came to be called *text hand*.—By *gloss* is meant a commentary or exposition, generally taken out of the Latin fathers, St. Hieronyme, St. Augustine, &c. It is originally a Greek word, and at first meant a single word put to explain another, as appears from the ancient Greek and Latin *glossaries*, but afterwards it came to signify any exposition or larger commentary. From hence are derived our English expressions, *to put a gloss upon a thing*, that is, a favourable interpretation or construction; *gloss*, ‘a fair shining outside;’ and *to gloze*, ‘to flatter.’

Yours, &c.

Whittington, Oct. 19, 1753.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

1753, Oct.

VIII. On the ancient SYRINX as described in Virgil's Eclogues.

MR. URBAN,

AS I now and then peep into a classic, there occurs to me a difficulty in the perusal of Virgil's eclogues; and, being one of those who are desirous of understanding what they read, I beg leave to propose it in your Magazine.

It is not difficult at all to conceive, in what manner the ancients united the voice with the lyre or other string music, for the one could easily accompany the other, and consequently the same person might perform with both at the same time. The word *ψαλλω* signifies to sing to, or with, the lyre, and from thence come *psalmus*, and *psaltria*.

When Horace, lib. IV. Ode xiii. says,

Doctæ psallere Chiæ,

Mons. Dacier writes upon it, ‘Notre langue n’a point de mot qui explique le *psallere* des Grecs et des Latins, qui se dit proprement d’une personne qui chante et qui joue en

même temps d'un instrument.' So Heliodorus, lib. 1. *Θισὲν παιδισκαριον τῇ αὐτῇ, ψαλλεῖν τε πρὸς Κιθάραν ἐπισαμένον, καὶ, &c.* But then how the same persons, amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans, both piped and sung together, is not so easy to determine, and yet we are very sure that the rustics, the shepherds and swains, did this. They could not sing and play with the same breath, we are sensible, but the words must either follow the music, or the music the words, which is the very question I desire to start; but before I deliver my own opinion upon it, I shall establish the fact, by shewing that amongst the old shepherds the pipe and the song were usually conjoined; for the doing of which I shall not need to go any further than the five first eclogues, though the same kind of proofs may be drawn from the others, as will appear to the curious upon trial.

Ecl. 1. l. 2. Melibœus, says to Tityrus,

Sylvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena.

Avena here is the pipe; Montfaucon makes a difference between *Avena* and *Fistula*, but I take it that *Avena*, *Calamus*, *Arundo*, *Cicuta*, &c. all mean, by a common metonymy of the matter for the instrument, the *Fistula* or the pipe; not the single but the compound one, or the *Syrinx*, which consisted of six or seven single pipes, and sometimes more, all fastened together. The *Syrinx*, was the usual instrument of the shepherds, as appears from Ecl. II. 31. seq. 36. seq. Ovid. Metam. xiii. 784. Theocrit. Idyll. viii. 18. *Musa* is the words or song, and it is evident that he sung words at the same time that he played, from what follows,

Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida sylvas.

Where Melibœus informs us of the subject of Tityrus's song, namely, his mistress Amaryllis, whom yet he did not celebrate without his pipe, as is clear from his answer;

Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum
Ludere quæ vellem calamo permisit agresti.

Ecl. II. Corydon pours out his complaint, but he used the pipe with his voice, as is plain from the following passages;

Mecum una in sylvis imitabere Pana canendo.
Pan primus calamos cæra conjungere plures
Instituit:—

Again,

Nec te pœniteat calamo trivisse labellum.
Hæc eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas?
Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
Fistula, Damœtas dono mihi quam dedit olim.

Hæc eadem ut sciret—he means the tune and not the words, which Amyntas could have nothing to do with. Corydon must be supposed to use the pipe with his song, for Menalcas giving Mopsus a pipe, Ecl. V. says,

Hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta.
Hæc nos, Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexim:
Hæc eadem docuit, Cujum pecus? an Melibœi?

These being the first lines of the 2d and 3d Eclogues, and consequently denoting those Eclogues, this passage imports, that these very Eclogues of Virgil, and I presume the Idyllia of Theocritus in like manner, are to be understood as learnt by the shepherds, and sung to the pipe; that the shepherds are not to be imagined to sing always *extempore*, but sometimes to make use of compositions, and even tunes, previously composed; sometimes the compositions of others, and sometimes their own, as Ecl. V.

Immo hæc, in viridi nuper quæ cortice fagi
Carmina descripsi, et modulans alterna notavi,
Experiar.

And again,

———— ista
Jampridem Stimicon laudavit carmina nobis.

The particular tune appropriate to a piece, you find mentioned, Ecl. ix. 45.

———— Numeros memini, si verba tenerem.

Ecl. III. Damœtas intimates that in his contest with Damon he had sung and played together.

An mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,
Quem mea carminibus meruisset fistula, caprum?

And Menalcas, speaking of the same contest, joins singing and playing.

Cantando tu illum? aut unquam tibi fistula cera
Juncta fuit?

And then adds to the same effect,

— Non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas
Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?

where the pipe and the verse occur united again, and he sneers at his playing as well as his composition. I conceive that the *Amœbæa* which follows in that Eclogue between these two antagonists, was sung by them to the pipe; for *Damœtas* upon this sneer immediately challenges *Menalcas*, and consequently intended to dispute the prize with him in both respects.

Ecl. V. *Mopsus* was excellent at piping, *Menalcas* at singing; but it does not follow that the first did not sing, and the other did not play; all that can be said, is that *Mopsus* was not so good at singing, as he was at playing; nor *Menalcas* so good at playing, as he was at singing. This I say is all that is intended by the two first lines of this Eclogue.

Cur non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo,
Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus, &c.

for *Menalcas* expressly calls upon *Mopsus* for a song:

Incipe, Mopse, prior; si quos aut *Phyllidis* ignes,
Aut *Alconis* habes laudes, aut jurgia *Codri*.

and *Mopsus* answers,

Immo hæc, in viridi nuper quæ cortice fagi
Carmina descripsi, et modulans alterna notavi,
Experiar.

And then follows the monody upon *Daphnis*. *Mopsus* both sung and played, for *Menalcas* says at the conclusion of his performance,

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poëta,
Quale sopor fessis in gramine ———
Nec calamis solum æquiparas, sed voce magistrum.

The fact I think is clear; and since it is impossible to blow and sing at the same time, the question arises, whether the voice went first, or the tune? It is certainly most natural that the strain should be played first, but I know of no positive authority for it. However, I shall content myself with thinking

so, till I see some proof of the contrary. Some, perhaps, may fancy, that the words were not adapted to the tune, but that the music came in independently, by way of interlude, between every verse, or every distich, &c. but the words in the vth Ecl.

Immo hæc, in viridi nuper quæ cortice fagi
Carmina descripsi, et modulans alterna notavi,
Experiar—

and those others in the ixth, 45.

—Numeros memini, si verba tenerem—

shew evidently, that the words were modulated to a tune; were *set*, and that the music was not interposed only at certain breaks, or at the ends of the stanza.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

1753, *Suppl.*

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

IN your last Supplement, the ingenious Mr. Gemsege has started a difficulty in Virgil's Eclogues, where the shepherds are described as piping and singing at the same time. If their pipes were blown with the mouth, as Menalcas in the third Eclogue seems to intimate, they could not possibly sing and play with the same breath: therefore I am of opinion that in such a case they first played over the tune, and then sung a verse, or stanza of the song answering thereto; and so played and sung alternately; which manner of playing and singing is very common with the pipers and fiddlers at our country wakes, &c. who might perhaps originally borrow the custom from the Romans, during their residence in Britain.

But Mr. Gemsege observes, that the *Syrinx*, which was the usual instrument of the shepherds, was not a single pipe, but a compound one which consisted of six or seven single pipes, and sometimes more, all fastened together; and Corydon, in the second Eclogue, says, that Pan first taught to join several reeds together with wax; or, as Dryden has translated it—'Pan taught to join with wax unequal reeds,'—or reeds of different tones. From whence I conjecture, that the *Syrinx* was an instrument somewhat like the bagpipe, and was blown with bellows, or something of that kind; if so, the music might easily accompany the song, and the same person perform both together.

And I think it is highly probable, that the compound pipe, or Syrinx of the Roman shepherds, was the original of, or gave birth to, the bagpipe amongst the Britons. I am the more inclined to this opinion, as the bagpipe continues to be the favourite music of the country people in Great Britain, and particularly in Scotland, to this day.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1754, *Feb.*

SYLVIUS.

MR. URBAN,

I CAN readily agree with Sylvius, that the Syrinx might give occasion to the bagpipe, by leading the way to its invention; for it was certainly very natural, both for ease in playing, and for the saving of breath, and even for the health and safety of the performer's lungs, to contrive a method of conveying wind to the several pipes by means of bellows. This was so obvious, and at the same time so useful, that the ancients, I think, could not well miss it. And from thence afterwards gradually arose that capital instrument, the organ. But I doubt the bagpipe, though it be unquestionably an old instrument, since, in the opinion of Salmasius; it is alluded to in these verses,

Copa Syriſſa caput Graia redimita mitella,
Crispum ſub crotalo docta movere latus,
Ebria famoſa ſaltat laſciva tabella,
Ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos,

yet did not rise so high in antiquity as these Virgilian shepherds, and consequently that the Syrinx was not played by them like a bagpipe, whatever it might be in after times. Nay, I think it may be proved to demonstration, that they used their mouths in performing on this instrument, for Corydon in the 2d Eclogue, immediately after speaking of the invention of the Syrinx by Pan, and the performances of that god;

Mecum una in ſilvis imitabere Pana canendo.
Pan primus calamos cera conjungere plures
Inſtituit: Pan curat oves, oviumque magiſtros,

subjoins,

Nec te pœniteat calamo triviſſe labellum,

where Dryden gives,

Nor scorn the pipe,——, &c.

which affords indeed the sense or import of the passage, but does by no means satisfy the learned antiquary, who is expressly taught in this place that the Syrinx was played with the mouth; it may therefore be rather translated,

Then blush not thou with reeds to wear thy lip.

To all which I beg leave to add, that Polyphemus's pipe was a Syrinx, and is described as such by Ovid. *Metamorph.* xiii. 784. and he was wont to carry it hung to his neck by a string; for so Virgil, speaking of this monster, says,

————— Ea sola voluptas,
Solamenque mali; de collo fistula pendet.

Æn. iii. 660.

where Dryden has it,

His pond'rous whistle from his neck descends.

I suppose he means *depends*; but however this be, this way of wearing the pipe is entirely inconsistent with the method of carrying a bagpipe, which I really believe was not invented so early, at least was not played on, either by the Sicilian, the Arcadian, or the Maronian shepherds; but to crown all, there is a figure in Montfaucon, *B.* iii. p. 271. playing on the Syrinx, and he evidently puts it to his mouth. But though I do not concur with Sylvius in his opinion, I am obliged to him nevertheless for his attempt to explain this matter, as indeed I shall be to any gentleman that will give us his thoughts on the difficulty I proposed.

Yours, &c.

1754, *April.*

PAUL GEMSEGE.

IX. On the EIKON BASILIKE.

MR. URBAN,

THE gentleman, who writes his thoughts upon that odd Greek verse in the title page of *Eikon Basilikè*,

ΤΟ ΧΕΙ Ε ΗΔΙΚΗΣΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΉΔΕ ΤΟ ΚΑΠΠΑ.

encourages any one who does not approve his solution to exhibit one more natural and rational. Such an one I think may be found in a translation more literal, "Christ did no wrong to the city, or state, neither did Charles."

To shew how natural a sense this is, let it only be observed that one of the reproaches cast upon our Saviour, was, that he was an enemy to the civil interests of his country. "If we let him alone, all men will believe on him; and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation. John xi. 48. If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend. John xix. 12." So it was alleged against Charles the First, that his intention was to govern without parliament, to make orders of council equally obligatory with statute laws, to raise money without the help of parliaments, by loans, writs for ship money, and other illegal methods. Now, says his advocate in this line, "as the censure of our Saviour was unjust. so was that of the king." And it may be remarked in confirmation of my opinion, that since the Restoration many have taken pains to draw a parallel between them, in the righteousness of their cause, the malignity of their enemies, and their own meekness and patience.

Let me be permitted to add upon this occasion, that, in the year 1686, when the Earl of Anglesey's books were selling by auction, this book presented itself among others; the bidders being cold, the company had time to turn over the leaves; and there they found a declaration under his lordship's own hand, that King Charles the Second and the Duke of York, both assured him that it was not of the king's own compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exon. This made a noise; and Dr. Walker being questioned about it, as known to be very intimate with Gauden, he owned that the bishop had imparted to him the plan in the beginning, and several chapters actually composed; and that he, on the other hand, had disapproved the imposing in such a manner on the public. If any doubt yet remains with the reader, I am to add that one North, a merchant of London, a man of good credit, married the bishop's son's lady's sister,

and after young Gauden's death his papers came into North's hands, being his brother-in-law. There he found one packet relating entirely to Eikon Basilikè, containing among other things, original letters, and a narrative written by Dr. Gauden's own wife. Shall I add by way of confirmation, that if I remember right (for I have not the book by me) bishop Burnet, in the History of his Life and Times, tells us, that as he had once an occasion to quote Eikon Basilikè, when in conference with King Charles the Second, and the Duke of York, they both declared that their father never wrote that book, but that it was written by Gauden, whom they rewarded with a bishoprick.

I am, yours, &c.

Somerset, March 5, 1754.

P.

N.B. The reader is referred to Toland's and Richardson's Life of Milton, and Bayle's General Dictionary.

[We have published the foregoing letter principally because it has contracted into a very small space, the whole force of whatever can be produced to prove that the Eikon Basilikè, was not written by King Charles I. As the question has been lately revived, we wish that some of our correspondents would contract the arguments, on the other side, into the same compass.]

1754, March.

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE endeavoured to answer your correspondent who signs P. within the compass you prescribed, and am,

Sir, yours, &c.

X.

As there can be no connection between the sense of the Greek line prefixed to the Eikon Basilikè, and the authenticity of that piece, I shall only insert Dr. South's opinion of the parallels which have been drawn between Christ and King Charles, and hastily condemned, not as indecent only, but blasphemous. "Is it blasphemy to compare the king to Christ in that respect, in which Christ was made like him? or can he be like us in all things, and we not like him? Certainly there was something in that providence which so long ago appointed the chapter of our Saviour's passion to be read on the day of the king's; and, I am sure, the resemblance is so near, that had he lived before him, he might have been a type of him."

To the declaration signed by Lord Anglesey, that Charles II. and the Duke of York assured him the *Eikon Basilikè* was not the king's, may be opposed, the public testimony of both Charles II. and James II. to the contrary, under the great seal, in their patent to Mr. Royston, for printing all the works of Charles I. and this surely deserves greater credit than a private memorandum unattested, purporting it to be written with a view that it could not answer. I assert this, says Lord Anglesey, to undeceive others: but if his intention had been to undeceive others, why did he leave his declaration in the privacy of his study, on a single leaf that might be obliterated or torn out; where indeed it was known to exist but by accident, the slow sale of the book affording time to the company to turn over the leaves? why did he not authenticate his declaration by proper witnesses, and publish it to the world, or leave it in some trusty hand, with a charge to publish it at some more convenient season?

As to Gauden's pretensions to this book, they are easily to be accounted for, supposing them to be ill founded. After the death of Dr. Bryan Duppa, bishop of Winchester, Gauden, presuming on the favour of some persons at court, solicited, with great eagerness, for the vacant see, though he had openly abjured the whole episcopal order, and was said to have advised King Charles II. by letter, to suppress it in Scotland: to strengthen his claim to this favour, he is said to have whispered among his friends, and attempted, without witness or credit, to persuade the king, and his brother, the Duke of York, that their father was obliged to him for the credit which he derived from the *Eikon Basilikè*. But this was fifteen years after the death of Charles I. nor was any person then living, who could give evidence concerning the book.

It is, however, urged, that Dr. Walker, at the age of 70, and 40 years after the king's death, appeared in defence of this fiction; but must Walker's evidence, in favour of Gauden, be deemed indisputable, as the letter writer insinuates, merely because Gauden was his preceptor, and afterwards his intimate? this surely is rather a reason why it ought to be suspected. Besides Walker's evidence is defective, and in some instances scarcely consistent, for though he says Dr. Gauden shewed him the plan, and several chapters actually composed, yet he does not say that they were in the doctor's hand; and he afterwards expresses himself doubtfully, whether he read any part of the manuscripts, or only saw it with the title of the chapters, though surely, if Gauden shewed him some part actually composed, as his own work,

he could not have mortified him with such coldness and want of curiosity as not to read it: besides, for what other purpose was it shewn? and how could Walker be supposed to live at this time in the house with Gauden, and know so much, without knowing more?

As to the evidence of Mr. North and Mrs. Gauden, it can stand for little, if the following positive evidence in favour of the book, be considered.

M. de la Pla, minister of Finchamfield, in a letter to Dr. Goodall, informs him, that William Allen, a man of repute and veracity, who had been many years a servant to Gauden, declared, that Gauden told him he had borrowed the book, and that being obliged to return it in a certain time, he sate up in his chamber one whole night to transcribe it, Allen himself sitting up with him, to make up his fire and snuff his candles.

It is also recorded by Sir William Dugdale, who was perfectly acquainted with the transactions of his own times, that these meditations had been begun by his Majesty at Oxord, long before he went thence to the Scots, under the title of *Suspiria Regalia*; and that the manuscript itself, written in the king's own hand, being lost at Naseby, was restored to him at Hampton Court, by Major Huntington, who had obtained it from Fairfax. That Mr. Thomas Herbert, who waited on his Majesty in his bed chamber, in the Isle of Wight, and William Livet, a page of the back stairs, frequently saw it there, read several parts of it, and saw the king divers times writing farther on in that very copy which Bishop Duppa, by his Majesty's direction, sent to Mr. Royston, a bookseller, at the Angel in Ivy Lane, on the 23d of December, 1648, who made such expedition, that the impression was finished before the 30th of January, on which his Majesty died. Lastly, it is improbable, that if this book had been the work of Gauden, King Charles II. would have expressed himself with so little esteem and affection, when he heard of his death; "I doubt not," said he, "it will be easy to find a more worthy person to fill his place."

For a further account and confirmation of these facts, the reader is referred to a vindication of King Charles against Anglesey's Memorandum. 4to. 1711. An Appendix to the Life of Dr. Barwick. Dr. Hollingsworth's Defence of *Eikon Basilikè*, 2 parts, 4to. 1692. Ditto, by Thomas Long, B.D. 4to. 1693. And Dugdale's Short View.

1754, *April*.

X. New method of modelling the Tenses of Verbs.

MR. URBAN,

MEN of polite learning have long complained, that Latin written by moderns, of whatever skill in the language, has something in it unlike that of the purest classics. This has generally been resolved, like taste, into the French *Je ne sçai quoi*; or attributed to the awkwardness of imitation. But certainly a defect that is universal must be in essentials. It may therefore be worth while to inquire, whether it may not, in a great measure, if not entirely, be owing to the use of wrong *tenses* in *verbs*; an error produced by defects in that case, common to all grammars ever yet published in our own or any other nation.

It is now about four years since I was appointed master of a free grammar school, when, though the classics had been the principal study of my life, it became necessary for me to be thoroughly versed in the true analysis of their language, in order to discharge that trust with fidelity. For initiating youth in the rudiments of grammar, I made use of Lilly, as revised by Ward: which, in perspicuity and regular disposition, far exceeds any compend of the art, I have been able to procure. But as this, as well as others, has its errors and deficiencies, I took the pains to collect, from the best writers on that subject, such remarks, for the use of my upper school, as I hoped, would, in some degree, perfect that grammar, make my youth acquainted with the grounds of the science, and put it in their power always to avoid a grammatical error. In the execution of this design, I found myself under the necessity of new modelling the *tenses* of the *verbs*; or rather indeed of restoring them to their most ancient form, that of Varro. From which, how all the grammarians in general came to vary, (in a case so plain, and supported by such authority) is to me matter of astonishment. The world has seen how much light has been thrown on Homer by Dr. Clark's revival of this form in the Greek; and why may not as much be done by it for the Latin?

This disposition of matter in Lilly, as I before observed, is extremely proper; and therefore, to make the formation of *verbs* easier to childhood, he begins with the *present tense*. But as youth of thirteen or fourteen are capable of thought and reflection, and must have learnt the formation long before; I there reduce *time* to its natural order, the *past*,

the *present*, and the *future*; each of which being conceived, as respecting the action or passion *perfect* or *imperfect*, constitutes two separate *tenses* or *times*. To explain this more fully, I shall subjoin a paradigm,

MODI INDICATIVI

Præteritum primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum rei imperfectæ, (Præter-imperfect.)
Amabam, as, at; &c. I *did love*, or *was loving*.

Tempus præteritum rei perfectæ, (Præter-perfect.)
Amaveram, as, at; &c. I *had loved* or *been loving*.

Præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens rei imperfectæ, (Present-imperfect.)
Amo, as, at; &c. I *love*, or *am loving*.

Tempus præsens rei perfectæ, (Present-perfect.)
Amavi, isti, it; &c. I *have loved*, or *been loving*.

Futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus futurum rei imperfectæ, (Future-imperfect.)
Amabo, bis, bit; &c. I *shall* or *will love*, or *be loving*.

Tempus futurum rei perfectæ, (Future-perfect.)
Amavero, ris, rit; &c. I *shall have loved*, or *been loving*.

To such as ask my reasons for preferring this distribution of tenses, I answer, 1st. That it is both a natural, regular, and easy one; and what I am persuaded others, as well as myself, from observations on the usage of good authors, will find to be just. 2dly. Let them please to consider, whether the judgment of Varro and Dr. Clark, be not, in this case, equal, not to say superior, to that of all who have written on the subject besides. And, 3dly. Whether the four *defective verbs* (*cæpi, memini, novi, and odi,*) which, under the *perfect* form, retain also the sense of the *imperfect*, amount not to a demonstration, that it is right. To instance in one:

MODI INDICATIVI

Præteritum primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum rei imperfectæ et perfectæ.
Noveram, as, at; &c. I *did know*, and I *had known*.

Præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens rei imperfectæ et perfectæ.
Novi, isti, it; &c. I *know*, and I *have known*.

Futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus futurum rei imperfectæ et perfectæ.

Novero, ris, rit; &c. I shall *know*, and *have known*.

A thorough acquaintance with this true state of the *tenses* would, I believe, prevent the affixing wrong ideas of *time* in Latin compositions; a fault very much fallen into by moderns. It would also supersede several frivolous and false *rules of grammar*; such as, that *Conjunctions join the same mood but different tenses*. For, not to say (what however is true) that the business of *conjunctions* is not to join together either *moods, tenses* or indeed *single words*, but *sentences or clauses of sentences*, those different *tenses* as the grammarians call them, are in reality the same. Witness that deservedly admired passage of Virgil:

*Exiit ad cœlum ramis fœlicibus arbos
Miraturque novas frondes; &c.*

where any man, with half an eye, may see that *exiit* and *miratur* are both of the *present tense*: and that the former must be Englished *is gone*, not *was gone*; for so it must have been *exierat*.

But to proceed; to the *imperative mood* I found it necessary to add three new *tenses*; a *present-perfect*, a *future-imperfect*, common to this mood, with the *indicative*; and a *future-perfect*, common to all the moods, except the *infinitive*,

MODI IMPERATIVI

Præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens rei imperfectæ, (Present-imperfect.)

Ama, ato; et, ato; &c. *love thou*, or *be thou loving*.

Tempus præsens rei perfectæ, (Present-perfect.)

Amaveris, rit; &c. *have thou loved*, or *been loving*.

Futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus futurum rei imperfectæ, (Future-imperfect.)

Amabis, bit; &c. *Love thou hereafter*, or *be loving*.

Tempus futurum rei perfectæ, (Future-perfect.)

Amaveris, rit; &c. *Have thou loved hereafter*, or *been loving*.

Let Oderint, *dum metuant; et adolescentes meminerint puditiæ*, out of Tully, suffice as examples of the *present-perfect* of this mood; where the *defective verbs*, as has been already observed under the form of the *perfect*, include

the sense also of the *imperfect*. Examples of the *first future* of this mood occur so frequently, that it is needless to cite any; however, take this out of Ovid—*Gradere et scitabere ab ipso*. Met. Lib. I. v. 775, where Dr. Friend and other editors, aware of the difficulty, but not knowing what to make of it, have put a *colon* stop, as a fence, to separate these two different *moods*, as they thought them, and to counterbalance the force of the *copulative*.

Of the *latter future* take this example out of Terence,

————— Nec tu eâ causâ minueris

Hæc quæ facis, ne is suam mutet sententiam.

And. Act. II. Sc. III.

where the common resolution by *fac* and *ut* is a very harsh one, and, in my opinion, much better resolved this way; especially as, in all like cases, it must be rendered into *other languages* by the *imperative*.

Before I finish with this mood, I should be glad, if such as are studious of grammatical perfection, would, in their reading of classics of the best note, observe, whether the two *defective verbs*, *salvebis* and *valebis*, ever occur in the *indicative* sense. That they are of the *first future* of the *imperative*, above described, numbers of instances may be produced; but I much doubt whether it was not through ignorance, as this *tense* belonged also to the *imperative*, that the compilers of grammar have referred them to the *indicative*.

In the *optative*, *potential*, and *subjunctive* moods, the same *ratio* of *tenses* obtains, as in the *indicative*; only it is to be observed, that the *present* and *future* are the same both in the *perfect* and *imperfect*. For instance,

MODI OPTATIVI, POTENTIALIS, ET SUBJUNCTIVI,

Præteritum primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum rei imperfectæ, (Præter-imperfect.)
Amarem, res, ret, &c. I might, could, &c. *love*, or *be loving*.

Tempus præteritum rei perfectæ, (Præter-perfect.)
Amavissem, ses, set, &c. I might, could, &c. *have loved*, or *been loving*.

Præsens et futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens et futurum rei imperfectæ, (Present and future-imperfect.)

Amem, es, et, &c. I may, &c. or shall *love*, or *be loving*.

Tempus præsens et futurum rei perfectæ, (Present and future-perfect.)

Amaver^{im}—ris, rit, &c. I may, should, &c. or shall have *loved*,
or *been loving*.

But in the *infinitive mood*, the *past* and *present* are the same, both in the *imperfect* and *perfect*; and the *future* distinct; as,

MODI INFINITIVI

Præteritum et præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum et præsens rei imperfectæ, (Præter and present-imperfect.)

Me, te, illum; nos, vos, illos; amare: That I *was*, or *am* loving.

Tempus præteritum et præsens rei perfectæ, (Præter and present-perfect.)

Me, te, illum, &c. amavisse; That *have*, or *had* been loving.

Futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus futurum rei imperfectæ, (Future-imperfect.)

Me, te, illum, &c. amaturum esse; That I *am* about to be loving.

Tempus futurum rei perfectæ, (Future-perfect.)

Me, te, illum, &c. amaturum fuisse; That I *was* about to be loving.

This is the form to which I reduce the *active voice*; and the *passive* follows in like manner; only with some necessary alterations in those *tenses*, which are made up of the *participle* and *auxiliary verb*. Where the first form both of the *past* and *present*, by including both the *imperfect* and *perfect* sense, affords the same argument of the right distribution of *tenses*, in the above *Paradigm*, with the four *defective verbs*, before-mentioned; thus:

Præteritum primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum rei imperfectæ et perfectæ, (Præter-imperfect and perfect.)

Amatus eram, ras, &c. I *was*, &c. *had been*, loved.

Præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens rei imperfectæ et perfectæ, (Present-imperfect and perfect.)

Amatus sum, es, &c. I *am*, or *have been* loved;

whereas the latter form *amatus fueram*, and *amatus fui*, &c. signify the thing without the least mixture of the *imperfect*, though in all grammars they are put down with the former, as equivalent.

I shall now only beg leave to add one caution to my fellow-labourers, to the youth of the universities, and to the studious in the dead languages (for whose service I have communicated my thoughts, and to whose judgment I submit them), that in their trial of what I have advanced, they be aware, that the true *time* of an *action* or *passion*, is, in some cases, exceedingly hard to determine exactly. That the transition between *contiguous tenses*, and between the *perfect* and *imperfect state* of the same *tense*, is nearly like that of light and shade, in painting. For instance, it is often the same thing, whether you make use of the *perfect* or *præter-imperfect tense* of the grammars. The difference between *time present* in its *perfect state*, and *time past* in its *imperfect state*, being almost imperceptible. But the mistake hitherto has been in taking the *perfect tense* of the grammars to be the *more perfect time* of the two; whereas, in reality, it is only the *present-perfect*, and the other as it is rightly termed, the *præter-imperfect*. So *jusserat*, *dixerat*, *finierat*, &c. when they occur, after some speech in authors; though they are used in the form of the *præter-perfect*, yet may best be turned into English by the *Aörist* or *Indefinite*, viz. *he ordered*, *he spoke*, *he ended*; which is the sense of the *præter-imperfect*. For the Latins being without *Aörists*, make use of *this tense* and the *præter-perfect* of the grammars for that purpose.

I have added, to the *active voice*, the *passive* sign, with the English *participle* in *ing*, for the assistance of ushers; to whom I should by all means recommend the practice of accustoming their youth sometimes to write the *verbs* in that form which will obviate a very common mistake, namely, its being taken by them for the *passive voice*.

The form of the *infinitive mood* is altered, and the *accusative case* put before it, to show, that, like an impersonal, it is capable of being applied to all the persons, by the addition of the personal pronoun.

Thus much of my grammatical collection I have been prevailed upon to offer to the public, hoping it may be of general use. With the rest I have resolved not to trouble it, as being not all my own, but collected from a great number of authors. By the channel of your Magazine it will be far diffused; and to such as are wedded for life to old forms, cost no more than the trouble of reading. And my

design will be fully answered, if it either contributes satisfactorily to the clearing up this most intricate and nice part of grammar; or excites some other person, of more penetration and leisure, to do it better.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

Ashford, in Kent, April 2.
1754, April.

S. BARRETT,

XI. Proverbial Saying explained.

MR. URBAN,

DR. FULLER died while he was writing that extensive work, intitled, the *History of the Worthies of England*, for which reason, amongst others, that book is not so complete as one could wish. In some counties he has registered the *proverbial sayings* peculiar to them, in others he has omitted them, and yet those counties no doubt afforded some, though the doctor could not recollect them. One saying we have in the northern parts, omitted by him, which is there very common, but perhaps wants some explanation; it is this, *as cunning as Crowder*. Now a *crowd* is 'a fiddle,' and a *crowder* is 'a fiddler,' both which words, to go no further, you will find in Dr. Littleton's Dictionary. Hence *Crowdero* is the fiddler in *Hudibras*. Cant. II. But why, *as cunning as Crowder*? I answer, we have two senses of the word *cunning*, one implying craft and subtilty, and often in an ill sense; and the other implying art and skill, and always in a good one. Hence *cining* and *coning*, *rex*, from Anglo-Saxon 'connan,' *scire*. *King* is an abbreviation of *cining*, and imports *prudens*, *sciens*, or the *knowing one*, the first kings or monarchs among the Saxons, being chosen into their office (which was not hereditary then) on account of their greater and more consummate knowledge in the administration of affairs, especially the military. But I observe that the word in this latter use, was very commonly applied to skill or knowledge in music, of which I will here produce you an instance or two.

1 Sam. xvi. 16, 17, 18, "Seek out a man who is a *cunning* player upon a harp. And *Saul* said unto his servants, provide me now a man that can *play well*, and bring him to me. Then answered one of the servants, and said, behold, I

have seen a son of *Jesse* the *Bethlehemite*, that is *cunning* in playing, &c.

1 Chron. xxv. 7. "So the number of them, with their brethren that were instructed in the songs of the Lord, even all that were *cunning*, was two hundred four score and eight."

Ps. lviii. 5. "Which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming ever so wisely." According to the margin, "be the charmer never so *cunning*;" whereupon it must be observed, that this charming of serpents here alluded to, was supposed to be effected by music.

Ps. cxxxvii. 5. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her *cunning*." This is spoken by King David, the same person, who, above by the prophet Samuel, is styled, a *cunning player on the harp*, and by the late learned Mr. Johnson, is very well paraphrased thus:—"If I do not retain my natural affection for thee, O Jerusalem, the city of the living God, and the divine services which are there to be performed; if I forget to perform my part in those solemn devotions, let my hand quite lose its skill in touching the harp." See also Bishop Patrick. In all these passages the substantive means *skill*, and the adjective *skilful*, but particularly in the science of music.

To come then to the point; I suppose there was a time formerly, when minstrels were so scarce, that it denoted great parts and great application to be able to play on a violin in these parts at least: to be as *cunning as Crowder*, imported consequently a person of skill and abilities; and if ever the phrase is used of craft and artifice, it is by *catachresis*, or an abuse of speech, as happens very commonly in language.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1754, *May*.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

MR. GEMSEGE has given a very pretty account of the saying *As cunning as Crowder*, it may be a true one; but the same saying in the N. W. part of England, (perhaps not so ancient as his) came from the following story: one Samuel Crowder, a carrier, was desired to bring a pound of tobacco for a neighbour; accordingly he buys the tobacco,

and packs it up in the mouth of a sack of salt; it being wet weather, the salt, being moist, breaks through the paper in which the tobacco was contained, and next day, when Crowder and his wife were unpacking, to their great surprise, they found the tobacco and some of the salt mixed together; his wife Mary made great lamentations to have so much tobacco and salt spoiled, which must certainly be paid for by them; but Samuel, wondering at his wife's simplicity, told her he had thought of a method of separating them immediately, and ordered her to fetch a pail of water, which was done; he then emptied the tobacco and salt into the water. "Now," says he to his wife, "there is a quick thought of mine, you fool! you see all the tobacco swims at the top, and all the salt falls to the bottom." So when any person does not act quite so smart as he should, he is said to be *as cunning as Crowder*.

Yours,

BRITANNICUS,

1754, June.

XII. A Proverbial Saying explained.

MR. URBAN,

WE have a proverbial saying current through the whole kingdom, peculiar, I believe, to this nation, of which the sense is generally well enough understood, but the reason and foundation of it are so greatly obscured by a corrupt pronunciation, that I presume they are known to few. The adage meant is, *to turn cat i' ih'pan*, of which every one knows the meaning, and probably has remarked many examples of it; but there being no connection between *a cat* and *a pan*, the rise of the phrase is very intricate, all owing as I said to a corruption of speech, for the word no doubt is *cate*, which is an old word for a *cake* or other *aumalette*, which being usually *fried*, and consequently *turned in the pan*, does therefore very aptly express the changing of sides in politics or religion, or, as we otherwise say, *the turning one's coat*.

I will now produce some authorities for this word; offer a conjecture concerning its etymon; and then shew by

a similar instance the facility and probability of the corruption.

When the cowherd's wife upbraids King Alfred, in Speed, for letting the cake at the fire burn, the author observes, she little suspected him "to be the man that had been served with far more delicate cates." Speed's Hist. p. 386. here it signifies a *cake*, but in general it means any dainty or delicacy, as in the example following, and as Dr. Littleton well notes when he Latinizes it in his Dictionary *cibi delicati*. In the Moresco feast called *Ashorah*, Dr. Lanc. Addison tells us, the Moors eat nothing but "dates, figs, parched corn, and all such natural cates as their substance can procure." Addison's account of West Barbary, p. 214. In Taylor's Play, *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*; Lightfoot says of King Cræsus in the shades below, that he is there,

Feasting with *Pluto* and his *Proserpine*
Night after night with all delicious cates.
Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. iii. p. 227.

So in Heywood's *Woman Killed with Kindness*, Anne says,

————— for from this sad hour
I never will nor eat, nor drink, nor taste
Of any cates that may preserve my life.
Ibid. Vol. iv. p. 139.

In Lylie's *Euphues*, Euphues says, "be not dainty mouthed, a fine taste noteth the fond appetites that Venus said her Adonis to have, who seeing him to take his chief delight in costly cates," &c. Lylie's *Euphues*, p. 242. Here it apparently signifies *delicacies*, and indeed I take the word to be no other but the last syllable of the word *delicate*, for the last cited author, p. 356, uses the word *delicate* in the very same sense, when he says of the English ladies, "drinking of wine, yet moderately: eating of delicacies, yet but their ears full," and perhaps from this word comes *to cater* and a *caterer*, which are both of them English, and not French terms.

Now that this is the true original of this saying is very clear from a similar corruption in the word *salt-cat*. A *salt-cat* is a cake well impregnated with brine, and laid in a pigeon-house, in order to tempt and entice the birds, who are exceedingly fond of it; and *cat* is here used for *cate*, in the sense of a *cake*, just as it is in this proverbial saying which we are now explaining.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1754; Feb.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

I REMEMBER to have said in Feb. Magazine, "perhaps from this word *cate* comes *to cater*, and a *caterer*, which are both of them English, and not French terms." At the same time I deduced the word *cate* from the last syllable of the word *delicate*, but since the writing of that paper, I find that Chaucer, p. 5. line 569. of Mr. Urry's edition, writes,

A manciple there was of the temple,
Of which all catours might take ensample,
For to ben wise in buying of vitaille;
For whether he payid or toke by taile,
Algate he waitid so in his ashate,
That he was ay before in gode estate;

The first of the Harleian MSS. has *Achators* for all *catours*; and the word *ashate* in the glossary is explained, "buying, dealing, *acate*, MS. Ch. from the French, *achat*, *acheter*; whence *catour*, *caterer*, Fr. *acheteur*, a buyer, anciently written *acatour*. Gl. Lob." These etymologies are certainly very plausible, and it is submitted to the learned to decide, whether they are not preferable to those offered by me, if so, the word *cate* comes from the French *acate* or *achat*, and the word *cater* from the French *acheter*.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1754, May.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XIII. The Proverb—At Latter-Lammas—explained.

MR. URBAN,

THE late Mr. Ray, in his English Proverbs, very well explains the sense and meaning of the proverbial phrase *at latter Lammas*, "*ad Græcas calendas*," says he, "*i. e.* never, *ἐπεὶ οὐ ἡμετέροις τελευτῶσι*, *cum muli pariant*, Herodot." But the question still recurs, how came *latter Lammas* to signify *never*? I answer, The first of August had a great variety of names amongst our ancestors: it was called *Festum Sancti Petri ad vincula*, *Gula Augusti*, *Peter-mass*, and amongst the rest, *Lammas*. The two former of these names depend upon an old legend, which in Durandus runs thus: "One *Quirinus*, a tribune, having a daughter that had a disease in her *throat*, she, by the order of Alexander, then Pope of

Rome, and the sixth from St. Peter, sought for the chains, with which St. Peter was bound at Rome, under Nero; and having found them, she kissed them and was healed; and Quirinus and his family were baptized. ‘Tunc dictus Alexander Papa hoc festum in calendis Augusti celebrandum instituit, et in honorem beati Petri ecclesiam in urbe fabricavit, ubi ipsa vincula reposuit, et *ad vincula* nominavit, et calendis Augusti dedicavit. In qua festivitate populus illic conveniens *ipsa vincula* hodie osculatur.’” Durand. Rationale divin. Offic. lib. vii. p. 240. The festival was instituted on occasion of finding the chains, and of the miracle wrought by them, and so was intitled *Festum Sancti Petri ad vincula*; and because the part upon which it was performed was the *gula* or *throat*, in process of time, it came to be called *Gula Augusti*. It took the name of *Peter-mass* partly from the apostle, and partly, as I think, from its being the day, when the *Rome-scot* or *Peter-pence*, in ancient time, (when that tribute was paid in this kingdom) was levied. The *Confessor's* law is very express, “The Peter-penny ought to be demanded at the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul*, and to be levied at the feast called *ad vincula*†.” Eccles. Laws of Edward the Confessor, A.D. MLXIV. c. 11.

We come now to *Lammas*, of which there are two etymologies. The first is in Cowel: “*Lammas-day*,” says he, “is the first of August, so called, *quasi Lamb-mas*, on which day the tenant that held lands of the cathedral church at York, which is dedicated to *St. Peter ad vincula*‡, were bound, by that tenure, to bring a living lamb into the church at high mass.” Cowel’s Interpreter. But this custom may seem too local, to give occasion to so general a name, and therefore the etymon given us by Mr. Wheatly from Somner, I would chuse to prefer. These gentlemen derive it from the A. Saxon *hlafmasse*, that is, *Loaf-mass*, it having been the custom of the Saxons to offer that day, universally throughout the whole kingdom, an oblation of *loaves*, made of new wheat, as the first fruits of their new corn. It appears from many passages in the Saxon chronicle, that this name is of great antiquity; in some of them there is the *h* prefixed, which shews it has no relation to the lamb, *agnus*;

* June 29.

† Mr. Johnson says, King Offa chose this time for the payment of the *Peter-pence*, because on this day the relicts of St. Alban, the martyr, were first discovered to him.

‡ This is not true; it is dedicated to St. Peter, but not to St. Peter *ad vincula*. The feast of the dedication is Oct. 1. See Mr. Drake’s Eboracum.

and in others, as *anno* 913, 918, 921, and 1101, it is expressly written *hlafmasse*, and the learned editor and translator of the Saxon annals renders it every where very justly, by *Festum Primitiarum*.

Now as to the point in hand, *Lammas-day* was always a great day of accounts; for in the payment of rents, &c. our ancestors distributed the year into four quarters, ending at *Candlemas*, *Whitsuntide*, *Lammas*, and *Martinmas*, and this was every whit as common as the present division of *Lady-day*, *Midsummer*, *Michaelmas*, and *Christmas*. In regard to *Lammas*, besides it being one of the usual days of reckoning, it appears from the quotation taken above from the Confessor's laws, that it was the specific day whereon the *Peter-pence*, a tax very rigorously exacted, and the punctual payment of which was enforced under a penalty, by the law of St. Edward, was paid. In this view, then, *Lammas*, stands as a day of accounts, and *latter Lammas* will consequently signify the *last day of accounts*, or the day of doom, which, in effect, as to all payments of money, and in general, as to all worldly transactions whatever, is *never*. *Latter* here is used for *last*, the comparative for the superlative, just as it is in a like case in the book of Job xix. 25. "I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the *latter day*, upon the earth," meaning the last day. That the last day, or the *latter Lammas*, as to all temporal affairs, is indeed *never*, may be illustrated by the following story. A man at confession owned to his having stolen a sow and pigs. The father confessor exhorted him to restitution. The man said, some were sold, and some were killed; but the priest not satisfied with that, told him they would follow him to the day of judgment, if he did not make restitution: upon which the man replies quickly, *I'll restore 'm THEN*, as much as to say, *never*.

Yours, &c.

1754, Sept.

G. P.

XIV. On the Propriety of Language in the Lord's Prayer.

MR. URBAN,

A CERTAIN old Clergyman, in my neighbourhood, having formerly read the *petition* of *Who* and *Which*, in the Spectator, No. 78, has at last taken it into his head, to the great scandal of many honest and well-meaning people, when he

repeats the Lord's Prayer, to say, *Our father who art in heaven*, instead of *Our father which art in heaven*, according to the form prescribed in the book of Common Prayer, which he has solemnly obliged himself to observe. He puts me in mind of a nice gentleman, now dead, who, when Lady W. was to return thanks in the church, after childbirth, thought it too familiar, and even bordering upon rudeness, to say, *O Lord save this woman thy servant*, and therefore he altered it to *O Lord save this Lady thy servant*, and instructed the clerk to reply; *Who putteth her Ladyship's trust in thee*. But to the point; that paper in the Spectator was not written by so great a judge of language as to induce one greatly to regard it; on the contrary, the observation there made is drawn merely from modern use, and betrays, in my opinion, great ignorance as to the ancient state of our language, and therefore one would wish that such innovations as these, taken up without sufficient grounds, might be entirely discouraged.

The Lord's Prayer, as it stands in the liturgy, is not taken from our present translation of the New Testament, and yet in this it is, *which art in heaven*, both in Matthew vi. and Luke xi. Neither is it taken from an older translation in use in Queen Elizabeth's time, where the address is in like manner expressed in both those texts. Nor, lastly, is it copied from Archbishop Cranmer's Bible, where again you will find it represented no otherwise. From whence one may reasonably conclude, that the use of *which* for *who* in this case, cannot but be true English, these several translations being made by different authors, and who all of them, as must be presumed, had a competent knowledge of our language.

I observe next, that in this very service of ours, *which* is in other places used for *who*; as in that case cited by the Spectator, *Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults*; and this other in the visitation of the sick, *O Lord save thy servant, which putteth his trust in thee*. Prayer for Ember weeks, *those which shall be ordained*. So in the gospel for Thursday before Easter we read, *And one of the malefactors which were hanged, railed on him, &c.* Psalm xvii. 7, we have, *Thou that art the saviour of them which put their trust in thee*; and verse 13, *Deliver my soul from the ungodly, which is a sword of thine*. Again, Ps. xviii. 2. *I will call upon the Lord which is worthy to be praised*; and verse 17, *them which hated me*. But what is most remarkable is that passage in the communion office, *Glorify your father which is in heaven*, it is so exactly corresponding to this in question.

Mr. Urban, here are no less than nine passages produced from our liturgy, wherein the word *which* is applied to persons, and occurs for *who*, and may not one justly wonder how any one pretending to be so nice and delicate, as the gentleman above-mentioned, could possibly overlook them? There are probably other places of the same kind, but these he reads often, and it is really a matter of surprise, that all of them should always have escaped his notice, particularly that they should have done so, since he has entertained his scruple about the justness and purity of such expressions.

A third argument for the purity of this word in this acceptation, I deduce from the Latin relative *qui*, which is applied both to persons and things, just as our *which* is, and as *il quale* and *le quel* are in the Italian and French.

But what prevails most with me is, that I have observed our ancient authors using *which*, of persons, as well as things. I will here cite a few examples from some of our oldest writers.

A manciple there was of the temple,
Of *which* all catours might take ensample,
For to ben wise in buying of vitaile.

Chaucer, p. 5. Edit. Urry.

He geveth his graces undeserved,
And fro that man *whiche* hath him served,
Full ofte he taketh away his fees,
As he that plaieth at the dies.

Gower, Confess. Amant, fol. 7. b.

The morowe was made the maydens bridalle,
And there might thou wit if thou wilt, *which* they ben al
That longen to that lordship.

Pierce Plowman, fol. viii. b.

That he was gessid the sone of Joseph, *which* was of Helie,
which was of Matath, *which* was of Levy, &c.

Wickliffe's N. Testam. Luc. iii.

See also Archbishop Cranmer's Bible there; Queen Elizabeth's Bible, and our present translation, both there and Rev. 1. but more particularly John xviii. a chapter read four times in the year, (and therefore the more strange it

should pass unnoticed) where *which* for *who* occurs no less than seven times.

These, Mr. Urban, may be thought authorities sufficient for the usage of any word; and I dare say, that upon occasion they might be doubled and trebled; but I rather choose to enter now a little into the reason of the thing, where I would observe, that I do not take this word *which*, when applied to persons, to be so purely a relative as *who* is, but rather to be an elliptical way of speaking. For example, the words, Luke iii. 23, *being the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli*, I conceive may be filled up thus, *being the son of Joseph, which Joseph was the son of Heli*; in which case you cannot with any tolerable propriety substitute *who* in the place of *which*. So in the prayer, *Our father which art in heaven*, the full locution would be, *Our father, which father art in heaven*. And in Tom Hearne's pref. to the Antiquities of Glastonbury, p. xci. you have "*which* Walter" in a like case. And hence, as I conjecture, arose the expression *the which*; for this, when it is used of a person, as I suppose it is sometimes, manifestly is demonstrative, and requires a supply of the preceding proper name, whatever it be; and in that case again you cannot change *which* for *who*, for we never say *the who*. *The which* is unquestionably good English, as might be easily shewn, were it needful, and yet some people have been willing to except against it, and, in particular, I remember to have seen it somewhere objected, as obsolete and incorrect, to Mr. Tindal the translator of Rapiin. But there are other cases, where, as it should seem, *who* or *whom* cannot well be put for *which*, as 2 Kings ix. 5. *Unto which of all us?* and Luke xiv. 5, *which of you*, &c. In this last place, whatever may be thought of the former, it would sound very harsh, I am certain, to an English ear, to hear it read *who of you?* But then, though the terms of *who* and *which* are not always convertible, yet this hinders not but that in most cases they may be used the one for the other, and consequently that whosoever should choose to say *Our father which art in heaven*, will no more offend against propriety, and the genius of the English idiom, than he that would rather write, *Our father who art in heaven*, and consequently that there is no occasion for an alteration, nor any reason in the world why a reader should depart from the common form.

I am, yours, &c.

Chesterfield, July 18, 1754.

G. P.

1754, July.

MR. URBAN,

PERHAPS what I am going to say may seem but a very small matter to some of your readers; but since it relates to the idiom of our language, and some of the most learned of the Romans could debate it, as we find they did from A. Gel-
lius, X. 1. whether it were right to say *tertiumne consul et quartum*, an *tertio et quarto*; others perhaps may think differently of it. Besides, it is concerning the public liturgy of our church, where every causeless innovation ought, in my opinion, to be prevented as much as possible. In short, Sir, since I undertook the defence of the diction in the address of the Lord's Prayer, I have been informed, that there are those who in one of the petitions very commonly will say *on earth as it is in heaven*, intimating that it is not so proper to say *in earth*. But surely this is very needless and hypercritical; for, the preposition *in*, both in Latin and English, is as polysemous, that is, of as various an import as most words in either language; it denotes, *within, by, for the sake of, &c.* and amongst its other significations, it is very commonly used for *on* or *upon*, and consequently these two particles *in* and *on* are frequently counterchanged in common speech. For example, you may either say, *I met him on the road, or in the road; the down in a peach, or the down on a peach; in the seventh day thou shalt do no manner of work, or on the seventh day.* See the fourth commandment, and Exod. xxxi. In some places it is said *to write upon tables*, as Exod. xxxii. 16. and yet you have it 2 Cor. iii. 3. *Written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.* In Exod. xvi. 26, both forms occur together, *But on the seventh day, which is the sabbath, in it there shall be none.* And so again, Gen. ii. 2. *He rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made, and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work.* From all which one may reasonably infer, that in the present case it is equally as proper to say *in earth*, as *on earth*. But this I shall more directly evince: it was noted in a former paper that the three translations of the Bible there quoted were made by different hands, and yet all of them, both Matthew vi. and Luke xi. have *in earth*; and to them I beg leave to add Dr. Wickliffe in Matthew. In this our liturgy it is said, *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's church militant here in earth.* And so Ps. cxxxv. 6. *Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did he in heaven and in earth.* And Matt. xxviii. 18. *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; where*

see again old Wickliffe, Archbishop Cranmer's Bible, and the version in use *tempore Elizab. reginæ*, and in the communion office, *Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace*. Wherefore I shall only cite one passage more, namely, the second commandment, *The likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or the earth beneath*. In the Anglo-Saxon, which is the *matrix* of our language, *on* signifies *in*, as appears, to go no farther, from the coins where DORR ON EOFFERPIC is *Thorr in York*. See Mr. Thoresby's Museum, p. 348, *et alibi*. This now shews, *a priori*, how *in* came to be used for *on*; that it is no solecism, but arises from the very genius of our tongue.

Yours, &c.

1754, Aug.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

YOUR correspondent who favoured you with the criticism on the first clause of the Lord's Prayer, seems through the whole of it, never to have taken the Greek original into consideration. The question is not, whether the present translation be grammatical or not, or whether *which* may supply the place of *who*, but whether either of them be necessary. In the original it is not the relative that is used, but the prepositive article *ὁ*, which indeed sometimes stands as a relative, but here seems to be put *causa discretionis*, and may very justly be translated *that*, as meant in distinction to our father on earth. As if it implied; not *this* father on earth, but *that* in heaven, is properly your father, for he it was that created you, and it is he that daily supports and preserves you, therefore small is your loss in losing your earthly father; you are not thereby orphans, if you do not by your wickedness forfeit the favour of your heavenly father, for, if so, you would be orphans indeed. Many instances might be given where the prepositive article is translated *that*, but I shall mention one only, 1 Peter i. 21, Θεὸν τοῦ ἐγείροντα, *God that raised*.

The criticism in your August Magazine likewise, would have been helped by the consideration of the Greek. There is no necessity to retain *on*, because it was anciently used for *in*, but it ought to remain upon its own account. The translation of ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, is plainly, *on*, or *upon the earth*, not neglecting the particle *the*, which, in proper English, is always set before that word, except when it signifies soil or mould; for I think in these expressions, *through all the earth*, or *round the earth*, the particle *the* is necessary to make them English.

An expression or phrase being ancient, is not quite a sufficient reason to a modern, for its being proper, unless we are to prefer the ancient state of our language to the more modern and improved. Not but that I think there are a great many forms of expression in authors, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First, that are masculine and nervous, and that it is a pity they should turn obsolete.

D——d, Sept. 24, 1754.

1754, Oct.

MR. URBAN,

A LEARNED Antiquarian in a late Magazine, chastises one of his neighbours for altering a word in the Lord's Prayer, and saying, *Our father who art in heaven*, instead of *Our father which art in heaven*.

This passage has occasioned several disputes; but what arguments have been advanced on each side of the question, I have at present neither time nor inclination to examine.

I must, however, observe, that your correspondent has by no means demonstrated the propriety of the word *which*; for though it may be used when we speak of a *third person*, and perhaps justified by supposing it "an elliptical way of speaking," yet when it is part of an invocation, we shall find it, I believe, a manifest impropriety.

For example, this sentence—*I will call upon the Lord, which is worthy to be praised*—may be thus filled up—*I will call upon the lord, which lord is worthy to be praised*. But, suppose we alter the sentence, and say—*I will call upon thee, O lord, which lord art worthy to be praised*—the impropriety is apparent. *Which lord* can never be part of an invocation: the words evidently refer to a *third person*.

For the same reason when we address ourselves to God in the Lord's Prayer, we cannot consistently say, *Our father, which father art in heaven*; whereas, if we speak of him, we may with tolerable propriety say, *Glorify your father, which father is in heaven*.

Mr. P. I imagine, was not aware of this distinction when he wrote his remarks, for I do not find one of his quotations "exactly corresponding to this in question."

He has taken great pains, indeed, to prove that *which* may be applied to *persons*, and in some cases I allow it may; but then I must observe, that an indiscriminate use of *who* and *which*, will tend to break through idiomatical precision, and confound our language with unnecessary variations. Whereas

we should ascertain our expressions, were we to appropriate *who* to persons, and *which* to things.

I am surprised that any modern writer should quote Chaucer and Wickliffe as vouchers for the purity of an expression. Woe be to the English language, if we are, at this day, to be guided by the writers of the 14th century.

Ten thousand citations, however, can never justify an absurdity; the correctest writers may be guilty of a solecism, and grammatical inaccuracies propagated from one generation to another.

The truth is, the English language has never been thoroughly refined; no standard has been fixed; the phraseology is extremely vague and unsettled; and among all the English writers, I know but few who have brought their language to any tolerable degree of perfection.

Mr. Dryden was certainly of this opinion, for in his dedication of *Troilus and Cressida* to the Earl of Sunderland, he makes this observation:

“How barbarously we yet write and speak, your lordship knows, and I am sufficiently sensible in my own English; for I am often put to a stand in considering whether what I write is the idiom of the tongue, or false grammar and nonsense couched under the specious name of anglicism.”

Yours, &c.

Rayleigh, Nov. 13.

R—N.

P.S. Mr. P. tells us, “*The which* is unquestionably good *English* ;” for my part I question his authority, and should be obliged to him if he would point out the *elegance* of that phrase.

1754, Nov.

MR. URBAN,

I PERCEIVE the observations I made in defence of the address in the Lord's Prayer of the current version, have been so unfortunate as to meet with some adversaries. The first of them is pleased to alter the state of the question, and to refer to the original. “The question is not,” says he, “whether the present translation be grammatical or not, or whether *which* may supply the place of *who*; but whether either of them be necessary?” But the point I debated was, whether *which* might not stand there, without any impropriety or solecism, for *who*; and for this I appeal to my paper. With submission therefore to this gentleman, I am not at all concerned with the original Greek, in this

dispute, nor with the justness or falshood of our translation of it, any further than to maintain, that *which* may do as well as *who*. However, I shall bestow one word upon this author; he would have it rendered, *that art in heaven*; now I can find no difference in the sense between *who* and *that*, nor between *which* and *that*, if you will allow that *which* can be used of persons; for it is all one to say, *Our father, who art in heaven*, and *Our father, which art in heaven*, or *Our father, that art in heaven*, God being effectually and sufficiently distinguished by all of them from our fathers after the flesh, which is all this author proposes. And what will he say to this passage of Shakspeare in Henry VIII. Act II. Scene 4?

It is not to be question'd
That they had gather'd a wise council to them
Of ev'ry realm, *that* did debate this business,
Who deem'd our marriage lawful.

Here, *that* and *who* are used promiscuously of the same persons, and in the same breath.

This, Sir, is all I have occasion to reply to this gentleman, whose objection concerning the citing our old English authors in this dispute, shall be removed below.

Another gentleman admits, as I take it, that *which* may be applied to *persons*, as well as *things*, in *some cases*, but requires an example where it is so used, when it is part of an invocation. This, Sir, is being very strict with me, and yet I do not despair of giving this gentleman satisfaction.

The question then between this gentleman and me is, whether *which* can be applied to a second person, as *who* or *that* can? I answer it may; and I vouch Acts i. 24. "And they prayed, and said, thou, Lord, *which* knowest the hearts of all men," &c. Here, *which* is the 2d person, and the words at full would be, *Thou, Lord, which Lord knowest*, &c. *Lord*, in the latter case being in the 2d person. These words now, I must insist, Sir, are exactly parallel with the words of the prayer, *Our father, which art in heaven*, which are to be interpreted, *Our father, which father art in heaven*, and where *father* is, in like manner, in the second person. This passage in the Acts, is not only read in our liturgy, (See the Epistle for St. Matthias) but stands *verbatim* the same in the two older versions.

To go on; there is another example, Acts xv. 23, "The apostles send greeting unto the brethren, *which* are of the *Gentiles*. For as much as we have heard, that certain *which* went out from us, have troubled *you* with words,"

&c. Now *are* here, is the second person plural, as is plain from the words that follow, *have troubled you*, and the passage is to be understood as if it had been expressed thus, “The apostles send greeting unto *you*, the brethren *which are of the Gentiles*,” &c. A third text may be cited from Rom. ii. 21. “Thou, therefore, *which teachest* another, teachest thou not thyself? thou *that preachest* a man should not steal, dost thou steal?” These words are likewise read in the same manner, in the older versions; and what is remarkable in this case, *that preachest* occurs in the same verse, *which* shews me, that the scholars concerned in the present translation, and in *one* of the elder ones at least, knew no manner of difference between *which teachest*, and *that preachest*, but looked upon them as tantamount, and equally pure. And yet, I dare say, those divines understood their mother tongues as well as either this gentleman or myself. I hope your correspondent will pardon me for this presumption.

I have no reason, Sir, to distrust this gentleman's candour, and therefore three examples will serve as well as three hundred; and therefore I shall rest the matter here, without troubling you any further. But I observe he is afraid lest the indiscriminate use of *who* and *which* should tend to break through all idiomatical precision. For my part, I see no ground for his fears, since the antecedent, as the grammarians speak, will always sufficiently determine the sense of the relative. After all, I do not suppose that either this gentleman or myself would choose to write in this manner now, for I see no particular elegance in it; no, Sir, all I contend for is, that it is true English; that there is no occasion for an alteration; and that they who understood the idiom of the English language, as well as either of us, would sometimes express themselves so; this is all I desire. But he is surprised Chaucer and Wickliffe should be produced as vouchers in this cause; but, Sir, I did not produce them *solely*, for several other authors were alleged besides them; and if occasion were, I could cite twenty examples more, from the Bible, (one there is above, from Acts i. 24.) and as many from Shakspeare. I deduced the form of speaking from our oldest writers, down, as I may say, to the present time; for it occurs frequently, as has been shewn, both in our liturgy, and in our scriptures, at this day. And I conceive that the best way of evincing the propriety of an expression, in any language, must be to trace it through all the several ages of that language; an observation, which I desire the former of these adversaries would likewise attend to. For were I to shew the use of any disputed Latin word,

I should think I could not do better, than make it appear it was so applied in the fragments of Ennius and Lucilius, and in the works of Horace and Juvenal; which if I could be able to do, it would be clear it was no peculiarity of *one* author, no casual abuse of the word, no affected singularity of the time, no solecism, no grammatical inaccuracy, propagated from one generation to another, but, in general, a justifiable idiom of the Latin tongue.

Mr. Urban, I should dismiss this nice critic here, but that I find he calls upon me to shew, that *the which* is good English, and to point out the *elegance* of that phrase. The *last* I will not pretend to do, for I do not know there is any elegance in it, neither did I ever say there was; but then, elegance is not required to make a phrase good English, any more than it is necessary to make any Greek or Roman phrase true and sound, and good Greek or Latin. If your correspondent, therefore, will be content with my alleging certain approved and good authors, which is all I proposed when I made the assertion, I can refer him to a competent variety of them, such as Leland's *Itin.* i. p. 4. 6. 30, and elsewhere. Psalm lxxviii. 16. John v. 29. Acts xi. 6. Shakespeare's *Othello*, Act I. Scene 10. *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene 1. Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, I. i. 26. Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 287; and Dr. Fuller's *History of Waltham*, p. 17, &c. &c. So many passages from different writers amount, methinks, to a full proof that I did not want authority for what I advanced; however, your friend must excuse me from transcribing the several places at length, which I am neither disposed to do, nor would it be consistent with your design, who have so many matters of much greater importance, no doubt, upon your hands.

I am, yours, &c.

1754, Dec.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XV. The Author of the Whole Duty of Man.

MR. URBAN,

Clapham, Jan. 8.

I SEE, by a note in your last Magazine, that you join in opinion with many others, that Lady Packington was the author of the book called the *Whole Duty of Man*. There are several reasons mentioned by Mr. Ballard, in his

Memoirs of Learned Ladies, published in 1752, to induce us to be of the same mind, which are by no means convincing to me. The only *positive* evidence in her favor (for the rest is but hear-say) is that mentioned by you, namely, that the sheets of that book are still preserved in the family to this day, in her own hand-writing. This, I allow, does shew that she was acquainted with the author, but not certainly that she herself was the author. I am very apt to think that the real author, whoever he was, and who took so much care to be concealed whilst alive, left no remains in his hand-writing, by which he might be discovered after his death.

My reasons for believing that this lady was not the author, may be found in Dr. Hammond's Advertisement to the first edition, printed in 1657. Here, the Dr. mentions to Mr. Garthwait the bookseller, "You needed not any intercession to recommend this task to me, which brought its invitation and reward with it." Now if Lady P. was the author, and the Dr. lived under her roof,* can it be supposed that she would have sent the book to London, afterwards to be returned to Dr. Hammond, at her house? And if the sheets in her own hand-writing are now to be supposed an evidence of the author, could not the Dr. long acquainted with her, have at once discovered her as such? It is remarkable, that there was a great deal of religious intimacy between this lady and the Dr. In some private prayers I have seen of her's, she thanks God for giving her so wise and prudent an adviser, whose name was famous all over the nation, or to that purpose. Why then should she be so shy to shew this book at once to so intimate a friend, when afterwards the author, whoever he was, was very well known to Bishop Fell? For in the Preface to the Edition in folio, of 1684, of *The Works of the Author of the Whole Duty of Man*, the bishop speaks of him as one who was "wise and humble, temperate, chaste, patient, charitable, and devout; lived a whole age of great austerities, and maintained undisturbed serenity in the midst of them," and who was not alive at the time of this publication.

But a reason which weighs with me above every other against the supposed author, and appears decisive in the point, is, that the bishop speaks of this author in the *masculine* gender, when he might easily have avoided making

* It appears by Bishop Fell's life of Dr. Hammond, that he lived several years before his death, which happened in 1660, with Lady P.

any distinction of the sexes. “The pious votary,” says he, “will by this method, more entirely acquaint himself with the writer of these tracts, than he could by the most punctual account of HIS name,” &c.

It is strange that Mr. Ballard, who had read this preface, by the quotations he makes from it, did not perceive this; or, if he did, would take no notice of it.

Yours, &c.

1754, Jan.

OBED. REPERET.

XVI. Sir Isaac Newton on the Ancient Year, from a MS.

I HAVE perused the paper, which his Lordship the Bishop of Worcester sent to Dr. Prideaux, and find it filled with excellent observations concerning the ancient year; but do not find it proved, that any ancient nation used a year of twelve months, and 360 days, without correcting it from time to time by the luminaries, to make the months keep to the course of the moon, and the years to the course of the sun, and returns of the seasons and fruits of the earth.

The first nations, before they began to use artificial cycles, kept a reckoning of time by the courses of the sun and moon, Gen. i. 14; and, for knowing what days of every month in the year they were to celebrate as festivals or fasts, and to what gods, it was requisite to have a calendar, in which calendar it was obvious to set down thirty days to a lunar month, and twelve lunar months to a solar year, these being the nearest round numbers, answering to the courses of the sun and moon: and hence it came to pass that the ancients reckoned the luni-solar year to consist of twelve months, and 360 days, in which they supposed the sun moved round the heavens. But I do not find that in civil affairs any nation adhered to this luni-solar calendar, where they found it differ from the courses of the sun and moon, but rather corrected it from time to time, taking a day or two from the month, as often as they found this month too long for the course of the moon, and adding a month to the year as often as they found twelve lunar months too short for the return of the four seasons, and fruits of the earth. And thus to correct the calendar of the luni-solar year was the business of the priests: and from the reformation of this primitive calendar to make it agree better and better with the courses of the sun and moon, and need to be corrected

seldomer by them, came all the forms and cycles of years which have been ever since invented.

For after they found that twelve lunar months were too short for the return of the sun and seasons, they added a month every other year, and thereby formed the Trieteris, more properly called Dieteris. And when they found this biennial cycle too long, so as to need a correction once in eight years, they thereby formed the Octoeteris of the ancients, the half of which was their Tetraeteris: and these cycles were as ancient among the Greeks as the days of Cadmus and Minos, and Hercules Ideus, and the great Bacchus, or Osiris: and therefore seem to have been brought into Greece by the ancient colonies of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, and army of Bacchus. Afterwards some Greeks altered the manner of inserting the three intercalary months; and, at length, when they found that the Octoeteris was too short for the seasons and course of the sun, and wanted to be corrected sometimes by the course of the sun, to make it keep to the seasons, Meton found out the *Cyclus decemnovalis*, in which seven months were added in nineteen years, and this cycle is still in use. And as for the length of the months, some of the Greeks made them to consist of twenty-nine days, and thirty, alternately; and by this cycle were enabled to keep a reckoning without correcting it by the course of the moon above once in a year or two.

The Chaldeans reduced the luni-solar year to a cycle of twelve years, and therefore seem to have added a month to the end of every third year, and at the end of every twelve years to have rectified their cycle by the courses of the sun and moon: for all cycles of years were for regulating the intercalation of months.

The luni-solar year being of an uncertain length, and for that reason unfit for astronomical uses; the Egyptians, when for the sake of navigation, they applied themselves to the observation of the stars, measured the just length of the solar year by the heliacal risings and settings of the stars, and laying aside the calendar year, made the solar year to consist of 365 days; and this year was received by the astronomers at Babylon, by the Persian magi, and by the Greeks in their *Æra Philippæa*; and being corrected by Julius Cæsar, by the addition of a day in four years, became the year of the Romans, and has been farther corrected by Pope Gregory XIII.

On the contrary, the people of Arabia Felix, using the old year of twelve lunar months, without correcting it by the sun, have propagated down to the Mahometan nations a

year purely lunar, keeping their months to the courses of the moon.

Thus you see all nations have endeavoured to make their years keep to the courses of the sun and moon, or one of them; and therefore that any nation should use a year of 360 days, without regarding the course of either luminary, is not to be believed without good proof. Simplicius, in his commentary on the 5th of Aristotle's *Physical Acroasis*, (*apud Theodor. Gazam de Mensibus*) tells us,

“ We seat the beginning of the year either upon the summer solstice, as the people of Attica, or upon the autumnal equinox, as the inhabitants of Asia, or upon the winter solstice as the Romans do, or upon the vernal equinox, as do the Arabians and people about Damascus; and the beginning of the month either upon the full moon with some, or upon the new.” He tells us, that the ancient year of the Romans, Greeks, Asiatics, Syrians, and Arabians, was luni-solar, and agreed with the courses of the sun and moon: so the year which the Israelites brought out of Egypt was luni-solar, and began in autumn, and Moses removed the beginning to the spring, and the first month thereof was called Abib, from the earing of the corn in that month. And accordingly Diodorus tells us, that Uranus, an ancient king of Egypt and Lybia, used the luni-solar year: so also the year which the Samaritans brought from the provinces of the Assyrian empire, and that which the Jews brought from Babylon, was luni-solar, and began in the spring. The Chaldees were an Arabic nation, and Arabian years were luni-solar, and began in the spring as above. And Scaliger and others inform us, that the ancient years of Persia, India, China, and the adjacent isles were also luni-solar. And the nature of a luni-solar year is to consist of lunar months, and solar periods.

Geminus tells us, that all the ancient Greeks, by their laws, and the dictates of their oracles, made their years agree with the sun, and their months, and days of the month, with the course of the moon, so that the same sacrifices might always fall upon the same seasons of the year, and upon the same days of the lunar month; and that they counted this acceptable and grateful to the gods, and according to the institutions of their country. And Cicero saith that the Sicilians and other Greeks, to make their days and months agree with the courses of the sun and moon, sometimes took away a day or two from the month (that is, from the calendar month of thirty days) and sometimes made the month larger by one or two days. And Censorinus, that the

several nations of Italy had their several years, but all of them by months variously intercalated, and corrected their civil calendar years by that one true natural year. By this practice therefore, the ancient festivals and solemnities of the nations of Greece, Sicily, and Italy, which were celebrated on certain days of certain months, (as the Olympiads, and Pythick games, Bacchanalia, Cerealia, &c.) kept to the same seasons of the year, and Hesiod's year began in summer after the rising of the Pleiades, and his month *Lenæon* was a winter month, as he represents. And by the like practice, the months of the Asiatics kept their seasons. For Galen tells us, *Quod tempus Romæ est September, Pergamanis apud nos, Hyperborelæus, Athenis vero Mysteria, ea namque erant Boedromione*. And the same is to be understood of the years and months of the Jews. The Sanhedrim proclaimed the new moons upon the first appearance of the new moon, and if the corn was not ripe enough for offering the first fruits thereof, upon the middle of the 13th month, they added that month to the old year, and began the new year with the 14th. And by some such practice, the months of the Chaldaic years also kept to the same seasons. For as the Dieteris, Tetraeteris, and Octoeteris of the Greeks, arose from the intercalation of months, so did the Dodecaeteris of the Babylonians; and the end of such intercalations, was to make the year keep to the sun, and the months to the seasons. Suidas tells us that 120 *sari* are 2220 years, according to the reckoning of the Chaldeans, a *sarus* containing 222 lunar months, which are eighteen years six months: in this reckoning twelve lunar months make the year of the Chaldees, and eighteen such years and six months (I think he means intercalary months) make the *sarus*. And Athenæus, lib. 14, tells us out of Berosus, that upon the 16th day of the month *Lous*, (that is on the 16th day of the lunar month, called *Lous* by the people of Macedonia) the Babylonians celebrated annually the feast of *Sacæa*. This feast therefore kept to the same season of the year, and so did the Babylonian lunar month, in which it was seated.

When therefore Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men, or Hippocrates, or Herodotus, or Aristotle, or Plutarch, or Manetho, describe the ancient year of the Greeks, Romans, or Egyptians, to consist of twelve equal months, or 360 days; or Cyrus, in allusion to those days, cut the river Gindes into 360 channels: or the Athenians in allusion to the same days erected 360 statues to Demetrius, they are to be understood of the calendar year of the ancients, not yet corrected by the courses of the sun and moon. And when they had at

Athens four *φύλα* intimating the four seasons of the year, twelve *φάσεις και τρίτες* according to the months, every *φάσις* had thirty *γενη*, corrected from time to time by the heavens, so as to make it keep the four seasons. And when Herodotus intercalates a month of 30 days every other year, he is to be understood of the Dieteris of the Ancients, continued for seventy years together, without correcting it by the moon. And when Moses reckons the duration of the flood, by months of thirty days, he is to be understood of the calendar months, not corrected by the moon, by reason of the rainy weather, which did not suffer her to appear. And when David appointed twelve courses of guards, one for every month in the year, (I Chron. xxvii.) he had respect only to the calendar months of the Mosaic year, leaving the intercalary months unprovided, because they were uncertain, and might be supplied by the twelve courses alone; the course which should serve upon the first month of the next year, serving upon the intercalary month when it happened, and the next course serving upon the first month of the next year. And when the Babylonians, as Diodorus tells us, say that there are twelve chief gods, and to every one of these assign a month, and a sign in the zodiac, and say that through these twelve signs the sun makes his course every year, and the moon every month, they describe the Chaldaic year to be solar, and to consist of twelve equal lunar months, answering to the twelve signs with their degrees, and mean the months and days in the calendar year, not yet corrected by the courses of the sun and moon: and by the relation and correspondence which those months have to the twelve signs, they fix them to the seasons of the year, by such corrections as were to be made for that purpose. This year the Jews, during their stay at Babylon, made use of in their contracts and civil affairs, and in their journey from Babylon to Jerusalem, brought it home along with them, calling their own months ever after, by the names of the Babylonian; which they would not have done if their own lunar months had not been the same with those of Babylon.

So then the luni-solar year with its calendar, was very ancient and universal, being used by Noah, and propagated down from him to his posterity, and giving occasion to the division of the zodiac into twelve signs, and that of a circle into 360 degrees, and to the invention of the Dieteris, Tetraeteris, and other ancient cycles, for avoiding the trouble of correcting it every month by the moon, and every year by the sun, and continuing to be used in Egypt till

the institution of their solar year of 365 days in Chaldea, and the nations adjacent, till the expedition of Cyrus over Gindes, and his taking of Babylon: in Greece, till the days of the seven wise men, and the reign of the Persians and Greeks: and in Italy till the reign of the Latins, and was at length resolved by the Arabians into their lunar year. I meet with no other years among the ancients than such as were either luni-solar, or solar, or lunar, or the calendars of those years. A practical year of 360 days is none of these. The beginning of such a year would have run round the four seasons in seventy years, and such a notable revolution would have been mentioned in history, and is not to be asserted without proving it.

I. NEWTON.

1755, Jan.

XVII. Classic Authors perverted.

MR. URBAN,

IT has been the common practice of authors, not of the lowest class, to quote passages from the Ancients, in confirmation of some opinion of their own, though to the utter perversion of the writer's meaning; some scrap is frequently taken for a motto, which standing alone, or being combined with other words, which are not immediately connected with it in the original, conveys a sense often very different and sometimes directly opposite to that which was intended by the writer. An author of a tract in defence of Atheism might put as his motto, *there is no God*, and quote the inspired writer David; but if the whole sentence be taken, *the fool hath said in his heart there is no God*, a meaning diametrically opposite will be expressed.

Many passages in the Latin Classics have been generally mistaken by their having been thus perverted, possibly by those by whom they were understood. I shall at present only take notice of that celebrated line of Persius,

Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter,

which has been generally taken as an encouragement of those who make an ostentatious parade of their learning.

But it is evident by the context, that the meaning of Persius was the contrary; and that he was censuring what he is generally supposed to recommend.

Quo didicisse, nisi hoc fermentum, at quæ semel intus
Innata est, rupto jecore exierit caprificus?

These are the preceding words of Persius's friend, *To what purpose is all my learning, if I do not get rid of the modesty which restrains me from publishing it?* To which Persius answers,

En pallor, seniumque! O mores! usque adeone
Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?

Thou Fool! is thy learning of no advantage to thee, except thou settest it forth to shew? The use of learning is not to procure popular applause, or excite vain admiration; but to make the possessor more virtuous, and his virtue a more conspicuous example to those that are illiterate.

Yours, &c.

1755, Jan.

R. S.

XVIII. Obscure Phrases explained.

MR. URBAN,

SPICK and span new is an expression, the meaning of which is obvious, though the words want explanation; and which, I presume, are a corruption of the Italian, *spiccata da la spanna*, 'snatched from the hand,' *opus ablatum incude*; or according to another expression of our own, *fresh from the mint*; in all which the same idea is conveyed by a different metaphor. It is well known that our language abounds with *Italicisms*, and it is probable the expression before us was coined when the English were as much bigotted to Italian fashions, as they now are to those of the French.

There is another expression much used by the vulgar, wherein the sense and words are equally obscure: the expression I mean is, *An't please the pigs*, in which there is a peculiarity of dialect, a corruption of a word, and a common figure, called a metonymy; for in the first place, *an* in the midland counties is used for *if*; and *pigs* is most assuredly a corruption of *Pyx*, (from *Pyxis* and *Πύξις*) a vessel in which the host is kept in Roman Catholic countries. In the last place the vessel is substituted for the host itself, by an easy

metonymy, in the same manner as when we speak of the *sense of the House*, we do not mean to ascribe sense to *bricks and stones*, but to a certain number of representatives. The expression, therefore, means no more than *Deo volente*, or as it is translated into modern English by coachmen and carriers, *God willing*.

1755, March.

G. S.

XIX. Critical Explanations of the word *Earing*.

And yet there are five years, in the which there shall be neither earing nor harvest.

GEN. xlv. 6.

MR. URBAN,

THIS word *earing* occurs in other places of scripture, but I have pitched upon this, because this chapter being twice read as a Sunday lesson, in the public service of the church, this passage, it is presumed, may be the best known. The word is grown obsolete, and partly through disuse, but chiefly from its being so like in sound and its present orthography to the *ear* or *spica* of the corn, I have observed the sense of it to be sometimes mistaken by writers, from whence I conclude that others, who are unacquainted with the learned languages, must consequently be liable to the same error.—Thus the Earl of Monmouth, in his translation of Boccacini, p. 11, says, “The plowers of poetry have seen their fields make a beautiful shew in the spring of their age, and had good reason to expect a rich harvest, but when, in the beginning of July, the season of *earing* began, they saw their sweat and labours dissolve all into leaves and flowers;” where he evidently means by the *season of earing*, the time when the corn runs into the ear, in opposition to the time of ploughing. Another mistake concerning the sense of this word, incurred by Mr. Theobald, will be mentioned below.

But to *ear* signifies to *plough*, and is always used in that sense by our old writers; so Isa. xxx. 24. *The oxen likewise and the young asses that ear the ground, shall eat clean provender, &c.* So Speed, p. 416, says, the Danes “grieved the poore English, whose service they employed to *eare* and till the ground, whilst they themselves sat idle, and eate the

fruit of their paines." Dr. Wickliffe, in his New Testament, Lu. xvii. 7. writes, "*But who of you hath a servant eringe,*" where the Vulgate version, from whence the Dr. made his translation, has *arantem*. The sense is clear, and the word is evidently the Anglo-Saxon *erian*, which signifies to *plough*, and is plainly derived from the Latin *aro*, and what we now call *arable land*, Greenway, in his translation of Tacitus's Account of Germany, calls *earable land*, from the Latin *arabilis*. In this text therefore, *earring* and *harvest* are opposed to one another, as two different extremes, just as *seed time* and *harvest* are, Gen. viii. 22. to the former of which it manifestly answers, and the sense consequently is, *in the which there shall neither be ploughing nor harvest*. However, before I dismiss this subject, I would beg leave to animadvert a little upon a criticism and note of Mr. Theobald, in his Shakespeare, where he too, as was said above, has committed a small error in relation to this word. The line in the author is,

We are to cure such sorrows, not to sow 'em.

Hen. VIII. Act iii. Sc. I.

whereupon this annotator writes, "There is no antithesis in these terms, nor any consonance of the metaphors; both which my emendation restores,

"We are to *ear* such sorrows, not to *sow* 'em.

that is, to weed them up, harrow them out. This word with us may be derived not only from *arare* to *plough*, but the Saxon word *ear* which signified a *harrow*."

But this consonance of metaphors, which he mentions, and which these critical gentlemen are perpetually hunting after, are not always needful, because metaphors often occur singly; and it is certain that in the present case the *antithesis* is sufficiently preserved in the other reading, it being unquestionably the business of ecclesiastics, such as Wolsey was, to heal and cure people's sorrows, and not to occasion them. So before, the Queen says,

'Would I had never trod this English earth,
Or *felt* the flatteries that *grow* upon it!

where I wonder this editor did not think of correcting

Or *reap'd* the flatteries that *grow* upon it!

which, according to him, would be carrying on the metaphor, and be far more consonant to *earth*, and *growing*, than the present reading *felt* is. But, as I said, metaphors may stand single, and were we always to be altering and emending our authors for the sake of maintaining the *consonance* he talks of, our writers in time would so differ from themselves as hardly to be known. But this itch of correcting is so strongly ridiculed by Martin Scriblerus, in his *Virgilius Restauratus*, subjoined to the *Dunciad*, that I need say no more of it.

But what is worst in this emendation of Mr. Theobald's, the word *ear* does not signify to *harrow*, but to *plough*; it neither means to *weed up*, nor to *harrow out*, and consequently can have no place here, since thereby the *antithesis*, which is undoubtedly necessary, is entirely lost. Mr. Theobald knew, that the word *ear* came from *arare*, and signified to *plough*, but, to serve his own purpose, he will have it mean to *harrow* too, as if there were no difference between them; besides to *harrow* does not convey the notion of *weeding out*, but rather of *covering*, which absolutely destroys the *antithesis*. And then lastly, he asserts, in support of this wretched emendation, which ought upon so many accounts to be rejected, that the Saxon word *ear* signifies a *harrow*, which is not true; and thus his attempt upon this passage, is not only needless, but also contrary to the sense and meaning of the author, and, lastly, has no ground or foundation to stand upon.

1755, May.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

A further explanation of Genesis xlv. 6.

MR. URBAN,

ADMITTING that Mr. Gemsege has rightly settled the meaning of the word *earing* in the English version of Gen. xlv. 6. yet, as it seems to me, a difficulty remains in regard to the text itself, which I would here beg leave to propose. The words are these, *These two years hath the famine been in the land; and yet there are five years, in the which there shall neither be earing nor harvest.* Now, from the nature of things, and more especially from the frame and constitution of the human species, which is ever desirous of preserving life, it is most natural, that in a famine, people should be trying all they could to procure a crop, especially

if they have seed enough to sow, as was the case here. See chap. xli. Nay, if the famine continued from year to year, as it did in this instance, we must necessarily suppose, that the people growing more and more distressed, and more and more impatient, would be the more ardent and eager to make their attempts by ploughing and sowing. How then was it, that there was not to be a seed-time any more than a harvest, since there might be, and one would think naturally would be, the former, though not the latter? Shall we say, that the book of Genesis being written after the fact, the author has expressed himself according to the fact; or rather, that not confining himself to the strictness of the letter, he has made use of a common phrase, as intending thereby to denote the intenseness of the famine? These reasons may satisfy some, but my conception of the matter is this: we are to consider the nature of the country, of which Joseph here more particularly speaks, the land of Egypt, which depended altogether upon its fertility for the inundation of its river, the river Nile, that if the Nile did not rise to a certain degree, or did exceed in its rising another certain degree, it was to no purpose for the people to plough and sow, for their labour would not succeed. These degrees of overflowing were investigated by experience; and the Nilometer, now called the Mikyas, of which, as I remember, you have a very exact description in Dr. Pococke's Travels, was invented for the purpose of shewing the degree of the inundation, to wit, whether, on the one hand, there was either a deficiency or an excess, or, on the other, only a necessary and commodious flow. There now was an event that affected the ploughing and sowing, as well as the harvest, the former as well as the latter; and if the necessary degrees of overflowing were known at this time, as I suppose they were, (this æra being long enough after the first peopling of the country, for the purpose of making the proper observations) one needs only suppose that Joseph, by the excellent spirit that was in him, foresaw that for five years then to come, the irregularities of the river would be such, one way or the other, as to prevent all tillage, (without which we are certain there could be no harvest) and then he could just as easily pronounce concerning the tillage, as he could upon the harvest. It is very clear from the context, that this famine was pretty general, in particular from chap. xli. v. 56. *And the famine was over all the face of the earth*, from whence it should seem the distemper was seated in the atmosphere, which of course would affect the periodical swelling of the Nile.

The cause probably was a great drought uncommonly prolonged, and it is well known that Egypt very often suffers from this cause.

I am yours, &c.

1755, *June*.

S. P.

XX. Biblical Difficulty obviated.

MR. URBAN,

THE annotation of Genesis xlv. in your Magazine of June last, has led me to take notice of another passage of scripture, which depends upon the same event, to wit, the inundation of the Nile, and may seem to want a word of explanation. The sacred historian, a writer contemporary with the fact, and actually residing in the country at the time, after speaking of the plague of hail, and the terrible devastations committed by it, Exodus ix. observes at verse 31, 32, "And the flax and the barley were smitten; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled. But the wheat and the rye were not smitten; for they were not grown up." That the barley should be forwarder than the wheat and rye, is so contrary to the ideas we now have of agriculture, especially in this country, where we yearly see the reverse, that this text is a great block in the way of the honest husbandman, and, I presume, of many others. But let it be considered, that our hard corn, as it is called, is sown here before Christmas; this necessarily gives it the start of our common barley, which is seldom thrown into the ground till April or May. But the case in Egypt, of which the author is here speaking, was very different; for there the grain of wheat and barley and rye were all sown at one time, to wit, as soon as the lands were ready after the retreat of the river. Barley then being a corn of a much quicker growth than either wheat or rye, it would of course be forwarder than them, and might be in the ear before they were grown up; or as it is the Hebrew, (*see the margin of our translation*) whilst they were hidden; by which we are not to understand hidden in the ground, but within the stem or stalk, and consequently were near upon shooting, but not shot. See Bishop Patrick upon the place.

That the barley harvest was the first in other warm climates, as well as Egypt, appears from 2 Samuel, xxi. 9.

where it is said, "And they fell all seven together, and were put to death in the days of harvest, in the first days, in the beginning of barley harvest," which at verse 10. is expressed more generally, *the beginning of harvest.*

Yours, &c.

1755, *July.*

P. GEMSEGE.

XXI. Ancient and Fabulous History not always allegorical.

MR. URBAN,

THE mythologists, in explaining the fabulous histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans, are very apt to run into physicalities and moralities. This is the case of Natalis Comes, the French authors, and indeed of most others, except Jac. Tollius, who chose to resolve them into the art of chemistry. I cannot but say, it is natural enough to fall into this way of interpretation, for besides the labours of Porphyry in this kind, and that the Roman poet points it out to us so very plainly, where speaking of Orpheus, he says,

Silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
Cædibus et victu fædo deterruit Orpheus;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.

Hor. A. P. 391, seq.

I say, besides this, you can hardly relate any fact, in the way of narrative, that is not capable of having some plausible turn, either physical or moral, given to it, and, in some cases, perhaps both. And yet I think it would be wrong to be always harping upon these strings, because, as I apprehend, there is one branch of mythology, to wit, that of the frequent *metamorphoses* to be met with in Ovid and other writers, which in a great measure took its original from another cause, namely, from the mere wanton and luxuriant genius of the Greeks, without any regard had either to morality, or natural causes and effects. This nation, being endowed with a great fertility of invention, being naturally fond of the marvellous, and by no means incommoded by any strictness of attachment unto truth, devised a fable very easily, either for the origin of a flower, or a bird, or a beast; in the doing of which they seem to have had no other

view, but to please and to amuse the fancy, by imagining a hero or a nymph of the name of those flowers and animals, and then equipping them with some entertaining and well-told story.

To this observation, Sir, I was led by reflecting, that the names of these heroes and nymphs are no other than the appellative or common names of those plants and animals, and consequently were assumed, feigned, and invented from them. This, Sir, is the ground of my assertion, which at this time may be made good in many instances, and perhaps at the first might have been proved in all and every one.

After the flood, the stones which Deucalion threw over his head became men, and those that Pyrrha cast became women, all because *λᾱς* in the Greek signifies a *stone*, and *λαος* a *people*, as is observed by Hyginus, whose words are, “*ob eam rem laos dictus; las enim Græce lapis dicitur.*” Hyginus, p. 224. edit. Munkeri, where see the annotation.

Lycaon was turned for his barbarity into a wolf; the word *λυκος* signifies a *wolf*, and so did the word *lycaon*, for though we do not find it in our lexicons now, yet there is reason to think it an ancient Greek word; for Pliny, who wrote chiefly from the Greeks, tells us in his Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 34. that the Lycaon, or Indian wolf, changed his colours.

Daphne, beloved by Apollo, was changed into a laurel; the case is, *Δαφνη* is the Greek word for the *laurus*; and I do not find that they had any other word for this tree.

The like observation I make as to the Narcissus, into which, according to Ovid, a certain young man, who was a great admirer of himself, was turned. The Greeks had no other name for this flower but *Ναρκισσος*.

The same may be said of the Hyacinth.

Philomela was changed into a nightingale; now Philomela, in Greek *Φιλομηλη*, is one of the names of that bird, as is plain from Virgil, Georg. iv. 511, and is clearly an appellative adapted to the known property of the bird; for it signifies a *lover of melody*. This shews, that the name of the lady was borrowed from the bird, and her story invented for the sake of countenancing the change.

But as strong a case as any is that of the nymph Syrinx: Pan was the inventor of the Syrinx, an instrument of music consisting of a variety of reeds.

Pan primus calamos cera conjungere plures
Instituit. —————

He was also very expert in playing on this instrument.

Mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo.

Virg. Ecl. ii.

Now how did the Grecian fancy dress up all this? Why, Syrinx, according to them, was a beautiful nymph, Pan became enamoured of her, she ran away to avoid so disagreeable a lover, and coming to a river, she prayed the Naiades to change her into a bundle of reeds just as the god was going to lay hold of her, who thereupon caught the reeds in his arms instead of her. These reeds being moved backward and forward by his sighs, afforded a musical, though a mournful sound, whereupon Pan cut them down and made them into pipes. A very pretty tale this, all imagined from the name given by the ancients to this instrument, and that it was originally composed of reeds.

Yours, &c.

1755, *Sept.*

P. GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

ANOTHER branch of the ancient *mythology*, which it would be absurd to decypher, either by a physical or moral interpretation, is the frequent allusions to very remote history: such as the important events which have really happened in the old time to the body or bulk of this terraqueous globe. The name of Phaeton in Greek, Φαίδων which signifies *lucidus*, is plainly given to the son of Clymene from the event. It is also an epithet of Apollo, considered as the *sun*. There is no metamorphosis indeed in the case of Phaeton, but his story is nevertheless observable on account of the event it may be supposed to allude to, and which, I think, wants pointing out.

Now it is very certain that Ovid, who had been so conversant with the Greek writers, had either seen the Greek version of the Bible himself, or had made use of authors that had extracted much from it. This last is perhaps the most probable. The account he gives in his first book of the *chaos*, the formation of man, the golden age, the giants, their attempt against heaven, the wickedness of man, and the deluge consequent upon it, are evidently adumbrated from the Jewish scriptures. Now, the story of Phaeton implies an event as general as that of the flood, from whence one would incline to imagine it to have been taken

by somebody from the History of the Bible; but quære, from what part of that book? Perhaps from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, or, as I rather think, from the sun's standing still in the time of Joshua. What induces me to fix upon this fact, preferable to the other, is, that the effect, though not so violent, yet was of far more universal extent. And if this astonishing miracle happened about mid-day, and in the month of June, according to Lyra, an intense heat of the sun for twenty-four hours (which is what I understand by *a whole day*) superadded to what would be naturally produced on a common day at that time of the year, might very well, in the warm regions of the east, be attended with some very singular circumstances, and enough, if transmitted, as the like events usually were, with a traditional aggravation, to give rise to a fable. However, either of these portions of sacred history afford a better ground for the story of Phaeton than that suggested in the Pantheon, to wit, a great fire that happened in Italy near the Po, in the time of King Phaeton.

1755, Nov.

P. GEMSEGE.

 XXII. Virgil illustrated.

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE always been of opinion, that there is no such thing as understanding our ancient authors, whether sacred or profane, without a competent knowledge of antiquity; without an almost exact acquaintance with the manners and customs, the funeral and religious ceremonies, the habits, &c. of the several ancients, whose writings we are daily perusing; as likewise of the attributes and representations of their deities. They who make the tour of Italy have a noble opportunity of laying in a rich stock of this most useful branch of knowledge, from those excellent originals of gems and statues they are so often favoured with the sight of; and when I consider what a multitude of passages in Virgil, and Horace, and Juvenal, were illustrated by the late Mr. Addison, (who set out with an immense fund of classical learning) both in his *Travels* and his *Treatise on Medals*, I cannot but envy those who are repairing into the same climate, at a time when it has been enriched with the recent discoveries at Herculaneum. What led me to these reflec-

tions is a passage in Virgil, which I think has not yet been fully understood, for want of attending to an antique custom. It is *Eclog. i. 34.*

Quamvis multa meis exiret victima septis,
Pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi,
Non unquam gravis ære domum mihi dextra redibat.

Tityrus says, that while he was enamoured of his first mistress, he never could thrive, notwithstanding all the care and pains he took; *his right hand never came home heavy from market.* Now, though it be a common expression to say a *handful of money*, or to go *empty-handed*, yet this is not all, for there seems to be here an allusion to that custom which the ancients had of carrying their purse in their right-hand; and in a gem of Leonardo Agostino, Part I. No. 199, there is a figure of Mercury, who was the god of gain, with a purse in that hand*. But I will cite you a passage from the *Æneid*, which is perfectly unintelligible, unless you have recourse to this custom to explain it. *Æneid vi. 613*, enumerates amongst the damned those who had defrauded their masters,

—Nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras.

But how should *fallere dextras* express robbing a master, unless the reader happens to recollect, that the purse was usually carried in that hand? When that is once known, the phrase becomes instantly clear and very expressive, and the two passages in the *Æneid* and *Eclogue* very happily and very finely illustrate one another.

Yours, &c.

1756, *March.*

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXIII. Comment on the old Play of *Albumazar*.

MR. URBAN,

MR. DODSLEY has presented the world with a select collection of old plays in twelve volumes; I hope it has answered to him as a tradesman, for I am sure we are greatly

* See also Spence's *Polymetis*, Montfaucon, and other authors.

obliged to him for the undertaking, since the original editions of many of these dramatic performances are now grown so scarce, that it is difficult to make any tolerable assemblage of them; and could that be done, yet it would amount to a very considerable expense. But, Sir, I have sometimes been of opinion, that a thirteenth volume is still wanting, which I propose should contain a series of necessary remarks upon the several plays in the collection; sometimes to give a critique upon the plot, or to deduce a short history of the play; sometimes to explain an old custom or piece of history, which are often alluded to; and at other times to expound an obsolete word or antique phrase. And certainly I must think, since Cicero has declared, “*mihi quidam nulli satis eruditi videntur, quibus nostra ignota sunt**,” to comment upon these old plays must be every whit as laudable, and even as useful, as to explain a tragedy of Sophocles, or a comedy of Aristophanes, upon which the literati, with great pomp and ceremony, will often lay out themselves, and consume an infinite deal of time.

But to make you the more sensible of what I would have done, and therewith to give you a specimen, as it were, of the design proposed, I will here take the comedy of *Albumazar*, the first in the ninth volume, and not the least valuable in Mr. Dodsley’s collection, and offer a few necessary illustrations upon it.

The account Mr. Dodsley gives us of this piece is this: “I can give no account of this play, or its author, but that it was acted before his majesty at Cambridge, by the gentlemen of Trinity college, and printed in 1634. It was afterwards thought worthy of being revived by Mr. Dryden,” &c. By this one is led to imagine it was written in King Charles the First’s time, who was upon the throne in 1634. Mr. Dodsley, I presume, took his account from the title, as likewise did the author of a book, intitled, “*The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*,” printed 1698, or thenabouts, where the author registering this piece amongst the *unknown authors*, at p. 156, writes “*Albumazar, a comedy 4to. 1534, played at Cambridge before the king, by the gentlemen of Trinity college; afterwards revived at the king’s house, with a new prologue written by Mr. Dryden.*”

The play passes, you see, Sir, for the work of an unknown author, and is supposed to have been acted in the reign of King Charles I. and thirdly, it is intimated that the first

* *Cic. de Finibus, Lib. 1.*

edition of it was A.D. 1634. But in regard to these particulars I shall here discover the author, and at the same time rectify the two latter suggestions.

King James I. made a progress to Cambridge and other parts, in the winter of the year 1614, as is particularly taken notice of by Rapin, vol. ii. p. 156, who observes, that the play called Ignoramus was then acted before his majesty at Cambridge, and gave him infinite pleasure. I found in the library of Sir Edward Deering, a minute in manuscript, of what passed at Cambridge for the five days the king stayed there, which I shall here transcribe, for it accords perfectly with the account given by the historian, both of the king's progress, and the play intitled Ignoramus, and at the same time will afford us the best light to the matter in hand.

“ On Tuesday the 7th of March, 1614, was acted before the king in Trinity College Hall,

1. *Æmilia*, a Latin comedy, made by Mr. Cecill, *Johannis*.
On Wednesday night,

2. *Ignoramus*, the Lawyer, Latine, and part English; composed by Mr. Ruggle, *Clarensis*.

On Thursday,

3. *Albumazar*, the Astronomer, in English, by Mr. Tomkis, *Trinit.*

On Friday,

4. *Melanthe*, a Latin pastoral, made by Mr. Brookes, (*mox doctor*) *Trinitatis*.

On the next Monday,

5. *The Piscatory*, an English comedy, was acted before the university, in King's college, which Master Fletcher of that college had provided if the king should have tarried another night.”

And the king, before whom this comedy was first played, was not King Charles, but King James, and the author of it was Mr. Tomkis, of Trinity college, in the university of Cambridge, the gentlemen of which house played it, as I apprehend, in that college hall. Now this little portion of history is very signally verified by an edition of this play in 4to. A.D. 1614, which has happily come into my hands, and in the title of which is mentioned the very day of acting, consonant to the above manuscript minute. “ *Albumazar*, a comedy, presented before the king's majestie at Cambridge, the ninth of March, 1614, by the gentlemen of *Trinitie Colledge*. London, printed by Nicholas Okes, for Walter Burre, 1615.” I have a copy likewise of Dr. Brooke's Latin pastoral, intitled *Melanthe*, the title whereof runs, “ *Melanthe, fabula pastoralis, acta cum Jacobus Magnæ*

Brit. Franc. et Hiberniæ Rex, Cantabrigiam suam nuper inviserat, ibidemque musarum atque animi gratia dies quinque commoraretur. Egerunt Alumni Coll. San. et individuæ Trinitatis, Cantabrigiæ. Excudebat Cantrellus Legge, Mart. 27, 1615." It is remarkable, that in this exemplar, which formerly belonged to Matthew Hutton, the names of the masters of arts and bachelors, concerned in acting the play, are written against the respective dramatis personæ.

Now, Sir, as to the play of *Albumazar*, which may justly be esteemed one of the very best in this large collection, it takes its name from the principal character, a pretended astrologer, whom Mr. Tomkis thought fit to call *Albumazar*, from a learned Arabian astrologer of that name, that flourished in the ninth or tenth century.

Mr. Dryden, who, by making the observation, seems to have been well aware of the antiquity of this play, would intimate to us, that Ben Jonson formed his *Alchymist* upon the model of *Albumazar*, which indeed is doing Mr. Tomkis great honour, for the *Alchymist* is generally supposed to be the masterpiece of the learned Ben. These are his words.

And Jonson (of those few [writers] the best) chose this,
As the best model of his master-piece;
Subtle was got by our *Albumazar*,
That *Alchymist* by our *Astrologer*;
Here he was fashion'd, and we may suppose,
He lik'd the fashion well, and wore the cloaths.

But if *Albumazar* was composed on occasion of King James's coming to Cambridge in 1614, the *Alchymist* was written before it, it being acted in the year 1610; and yet our author himself, at p. 46, seems to insinuate, that a play might be advantageously written upon the plan of an *Alchymist*, for he makes *Albumazar* say to Furbo, who asked him, what will you do?

First in, and usher out our changeling Trincalo,
Then finish up a business of great profit,
Begun with a rich merchant, that admires
My skill in alchymy.

And yet I will not pretend to say, that Mr. Dryden was mistaken, because it cannot now be known from what anecdotes he might say what he does: and because it is not impossible,

that our comedy might both be written and acted before 1610, though not played before the king till 1614*.

I shall now enter on the illustration, beginning with the prologue:

Ladies, ———

If it be a fault to speak this foreign language,
(For Latin is our mother tongue) I must entreat you
To frame excuses for us; for whose sake
We now speak English.

The exercises of the university were not only performed in Latin, but the plays written in this and the former reign, for the entertainment of the court, whenever it removed either to Oxford or Cambridge, were generally composed in that language. Thus *Æmilia*, *Ignoramus*, and *Melanthe*, all acted on this occasion, were in Latin. Both King James and Queen Elizabeth were Latinists†.

Yours, &c.

1756, *May*.

P. GEMSEGE.

XXIV. A Passage in Juvenal explained.

*Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus.* Juv. Sat. iv. 126.

MR. BAXTER observes, with great probability, that *Arviragus* here is not a proper name, but a title of office or dignity; the *Ardhrig* or *Ardhrag*, being the dictator chosen by the Britons in the time of war, to be the captain-general, or the generalissimo, as we now speak, and to have the command over all the other princes; and the word, he says,

* The case was certainly so, for, p. 56, there is mention of Spinola's camp, who sat down before Ostend anno 1601, and took the town anno 1604. At p. 17, the author mentions the issue of the next summer's war. Now James I. was not at war in 1614, when the play was acted; but the English were concerned in the defence of Ostend, when Spinola besieged it, which again seems to carry the date of the play back to that time. But then it must be allowed, that upon the revival of this play before the king, some passages were added or retouched; for whereas, p. 14, the author mentions *Coriatus Persicus*, and his observations on Asia and Afric, Tom Coriat did not set out upon that voyage till 1612. See Auth. Wood's *Athenæ*, Vol. I, c. 422.

[† These observations were not continued. E.]

signifies *altus vel summus Rex*. Baxter's Gloss. Antiq. Brit. p. 25. This interpretation certainly agrees very well with the place, and the preceding words *regem aliquem*, which seem to require not any particular but an indefinite person; and I find it is accordingly approved by Mr. Wise, in his Numismata, p. 226, and, indeed, well it might, since we are assured that the Britons had this species of dominion amongst them; that the like was enjoyed by Agamemnon at Troy; that the monarchs amongst the Anglo-Saxons, during the continuance of the Heptarchy, exercised the same sovereignty; and lastly, that in the nature of things, where a country was broken into small principalities, it would become absolutely necessary for the purpose of peace and unity, to vest in some one a power over the other princes.

As to the expression *de temone Britanno excidet*, not one of the numerous illustrators of Juvenal, in the copious edition of Henninius, has rightly touched the sense. Grangæus's note is,

Temone] Pars pro toto, temo pro curru.

Curio's is, *de curru dejicietur*.

An old commentator, cited by Lubinus, gives it thus, *mortuus est, et de regno expulsus*. But these are none of them the whole of the idea, which the poet meant to reach out to us. The *Temo* of a *Rheda* or *Essedum*, which are the names of the chariots used by the ancient Britons in war, was the pole that went between the horses, and was fastened to the *Jugum* or yoke. The Britons, as Cæsar tells us, de Bello Gallico, Lib. IV. c. 33. were so extremely expert at fighting with chariots, that they would run upon the pole, sit upon the yoke, and then retire again into the chariot, by which method of combat, so new to the Romans, the legions were often greatly embarrassed. Now to this extraordinary dexterity of the hero in engaging with his chariot, the author here evidently alludes, when, he says, some generalissimo shall fall from his pole, be assailed, and tumbled down, that is, whilst he was practising that agile movement. This method of fighting in chariots being so agreeable to the practice of the ancient oriental nations, the Trojans, Egyptians, Canaanites, Syrians, Persians, &c. has been thought to amount to an argument, that the Britons were descended from the Phœnicians, see Samme's Britannia, p. 120. but I cannot say I feel the force of it, since it appears to have been equally the custom of many nations in the west, as of the Greeks and Gauls, and, I suppose, of

others. However, since there is the appearance of a wheel upon many of the British coins, (see the first table of Nummi Britannici in Camden,) and always along with a horse, I am induced to believe, that as the Romans had their *Denarii Bigati* and *Quadrigati*, so the wheel upon these British coins was intended to point out the *Rhedæ* and *Esseda*. Indeed it is said, among the conjectures upon the British coins in Camden, col. cx. that the wheel under the horse, amongst the Romans, “intimated the making of a high-way for carts: so many of which being in the Romans’ time made in this country, well deserve such a memorial;” but I know not how the learned author can establish his notion, that a wheel under a horse, upon a coin, intimated the making of an high-way for carts; nor can I discover why the British coins should be thought to allude to a Roman custom, rather than one of their own. Surely, it is much more natural to imagine they had their thoughts at home, and that a horse with a wheel must have a reference to their own chariots, which by their adroitness and conduct in the management of them, were so formidable even to the Romans themselves.

Yours, &c.

1757, Feb.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXV. Criticism on a Passage in Virgil.

*Non insueta graves tentabunt pabula fœtas,
Nec mala vicini pecoris contagia lædent.*

Virgil, Ecl. i. 50.

MR. URBAN,

THAT *tento* may signify to *invade*, or *attack*, and in that sense may be applicable to a distemper, or any other disorder incident to cattle, we have a clear proof in those words of the Georgic, iii. 441.

Turpis oves tentat scabies—

In consequence of this interpretation it may come to mean *vitiare*, as Ruæus understands it here, to whose exposition I should willingly subscribe, were it not that the simple verbs

in the classics are so often used for their compounds, and that *tentabunt* for *distentabunt* affords a sense so apposite to this place. I therefore would render it, *would burst the pregnant ewes*, this being the effect of such enormous distention; for all sorts of cattle, and sheep as well as the rest, are apt to eat too much of fresh and luxuriant food, and feeding too greedily, to gorge themselves, when first they are put into a new pasture, as these ewes would frequently be, were Tityrus forced to remove from place to place, as Melibœus was with his flock of goats. This would be more dangerous to such as were with young, as these ewes were. Now the Eclogues of Virgil are extracts from Theocritus, and there are perpetual allusions in them to the customs and manners of the Greeks. And in Sicily, the country of both the interlocutors, the grass was so very luxuriant, and especially about Mount Ætna, that, as Strabo tells us, the sheep were often choked with fat. The ashes of the mountain, upon an eruption, he says, enrich the land in several respects, and then adds, *πναινει δ' ἐπὶ τοσούτων τὰ πρόβατα φασιν, ὥς τε πνιγέσθαι*, *quibus adeo pingues reddi perhibent oves, ut rumpantur*. Strabo, Lib. vi.—I know not why the translator renders *πνιγέσθαι* by *rumpantur*, for it rather means *suffocated*, or *choked*. Bursting, however, would naturally often happen on their being put into fresh grounds. This fertility at the roots of Mount Ætna, was owing it seems, to a natural cause, and the case is the same at the bottom of Mount Vesuvius, as might be easily made appear by direct testimony, if needful. But what is more remarkable, the like destructive fertility is observed by authors in other parts of Sicily. I shall only cite the words of Signore Haym, who speaking of the country about Leontini, now called Lentini, says, “Cicerone, Diodoro, e Plinio dicono che il suo terreno era sì abbondante che vi nasceva il frumento naturalmente; e quello che vi si piantava rendeva cento per uno; ed Aristotele soggiunge che spesse volte i bestiami vi morivano per troppa grassezza.” *Il Tesoro Britannico del Sign. Haym*. Vol. ii. p. 59.

I conceive then, that in this passage of Virgil there are conveyed two different ideas, that fresh grass would neither burst the teeming ewes, nor would they be in danger of contagion from the scabby flocks of others. Now let us see how Mr. Dryden conducts the matter.

Your teeming ewes shall no strange meadows try,
Nor fear a rot from tainted company.

He has translated the first verse very literally, according to the vulgar sense of *tento*, which means to *try*, but that is very poor and jejune, and in my opinion, not half expressive enough. And as to the second line, the rot is not here intended, but the scab; for the former is not contagious, whereas the latter is extremely so. I have no opportunity of consulting any other versions, some of which may have perhaps hit the sense of the author better than Mr. Dryden, and therefore can only substitute the following, which pretends to no more than just to express the poet's mind.

No new rank meads will burst your teeming ewes,
Nor scabs from neighb'ring folds your flock abuse.

1757, *May*.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXVI. Critical Remarks on Horace.

MR. URBAN,

THE author of the Trojan war was so much the admiration of the ancients, that, besides their styling him *the poet*, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, they thought they could discern in him the rudiments of all kinds of science. The moderns seem to me to be not much averse to the same opinion, for Sir William Trumbull, in a letter to Mr. Pope,* speaking of those lines of Horace, Epist. i. 2.

Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi;
Qui, quod sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.

And desiring him to proceed in his translation of this incomparable poet, has these words, "to make his works as useful and instructive to this degenerate age, as he, (Homer) was to our friend Horace, when he read him at *Præneste*; *Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non*, &c. I break off with that *quid non*? with which I confess I am charmed." And thus, Sir, the passage stands in the late edition of Mr. Pope's Works, without the least note or animadversion by the

* Pope's Works, Vol. vii. p. 152.

editor; and we are evidently given to understand, especially by the note of interrogation affixed to the words *quid non*, that every thing, in a manner, was to be learnt from this great author. I enter not here into the merits of the dispute, about the universality of Homer's knowledge and learning, to wit, whether the whole Cyclopædia of the arts and sciences are to be found in him, or not; for I only mean to suggest to you, that Sir William has certainly mistaken the Roman author's meaning in that place, and that there is no occasion for him or any one else to be so grossly charmed with these two little words *quid non*. *Quid non* there does not carry the sense of our English phrase, *what not?* for the verb *sit* is understood, or rather is to be repeated from the beginning of the verse, along with the adjective *utile*; and the whole, were it to be filled up, would run thus *quid sit utile, quid non sit utile, &c.* And this agrees best with our author's design in this passage, where he is expressly speaking of the ethic documents of the Grecian poet, and the moral lessons which may be profitably drawn from thence, which he says are more full and instructive than the precepts both of Chrysippus the stoic, and Crantor the academician. And it is remarkable in the case, that Homer makes the mischief and inconveniences of anger, so destructive in its consequences to the Greeks, the very subject of the *Iliad*, as appears from the invocation at the beginning, insomuch that the *quid non utile*, which, according to Horace, is taught us by Homer, is so obvious, that it cannot well be missed, and very principally alludes, no doubt, to anger and its fatal effects; I say principally, because I do not think it ought to be totally restrained to that, on account of the sequel of the epistle.

Yours, &c.

1757, June,

P. GEMSEGE.

XXVII. Critique on a Passage in *Paradise Lost*.

MR. URBAN,

MR. WARTON, in his elegant observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, has taken occasion to offer an illustration of an expression in the *Paradise Lost*, which is equally new and satisfactory.

—— The Galaxy, that milky way,
Which nightly, as a circling zone, thou seest
Powder'd with stars——*

That ingenious critic thus explains this passage. “The milky way, which every night appears to you like a circling zone, besprinkled or embroidered with stars.” He subjoins, “To the majority of readers, I dare say, *powder'd* with stars, has ever appeared a very mean, or rather ridiculous metaphor.”† That this was a signification of the verb *powder*, in ancient literature, he proves by an allegation of numerous authorities, from Spenser, Jonson, Sydney, Harrington, Chaucer, Sackville, and Sandys. In confirmation of the sense here assigned to the word in question, I shall beg leave, by means of your Miscellany, to add an example or two.

We find *powder*, in the sense *embroider*, latinised (unless it be, that the Latin gave rise to the English word) in Dugdale’s *Monasticon*; in a recital of the relics, vestments, &c. belonging to the chapel of St. George, at Windsor, viz. Under the article *Vexilla*. “*Item duo Vexilla poudrata cum armis dominis regis Angliæ.*” “*Also two banners embroidered with the arms of our Lord the King of England.*”‡ Again under the article *Velum cum Ridellis*.”|| “*Item unum Velum quadragesimale, &c.—Et albi coloris cum garteris, et aquilis auro poudratis.*”—“*Also one veil for Lent, &c.—And another white veil with garters and eagles embroidered in gold.*”§ Again, under the article *lapæ*.—“*Et alia de blodio satin poudurato cum arboribus aureis,*”—“*And another cope of red satin embroidered with golden trees.*”¶ Again, under the article *panni*.—“*Unus de serico poudurato cum diversis avibus et floribus.*”—“*One cloth of silk embroidered with diverse birds and flowers.*”** And in other passages of the same inventory.

The word likewise occurs in some original MS. collections, which I have lately consulted, relating to the treasury of the college of Stoke, by Clare, in the county of Suffolk, which were drawn from the registers of that college, about

* B. vii. v. 579.

† Sect. xi. p. 264.

‡ Tom. iii. part 2. Sub. Tit. Ecclesiæ Collegiat. Canonic. Sæcul. Edit. Savoy, Londin. 1673. p. 87.

|| *Ridellum*, is a curtain. Fr. Rideau. Du Fresne, Glossar. Vol. iii. p. 610.

§ P. 85.

¶ P. 81.

** P. 82.

the time of its suppression, by its last dean, the memorable Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, viz.

“ Thirdly, a chesable* of white cloth *powder'd* with costly images and angels of gold, togidder with orphreys† of gold, having the Trinity in the back, the Holy Ghost being of pearl; and also, divers pearles in the other images, with two tunicles of the same suit *powdred*, and ecchone with morses.‡ And three albes and amisses with their apparell: the stoll is differing: of the gift of Hen. Langforde, sometime treasurer.”

I remember also to have seen this word in Stow's Chronicle, concerning a robe of Cardinal Wolsey; and in a description of the furniture of a magnificent masque exhibited before the court of Henry VIII.

I cannot dismiss this subject without recommending the rational and effectual method employed by Mr. Warton in explaining Spenser; which principally consists in examining those books which Spenser had most probably read, and in tracing out his several allusions to the manners and customs which were fashionable and familiar when he composed his poem. Unless this be carefully done in criticising an author of so remote a period, many beauties must necessarily be lost with the object to which they are united, “ as the figures vanish, when the canvass has decayed §.”

Yours, &c.

1758, Feb.

A. A.

* *Casula* signifies a priestly vestment covering the whole body. Hence came *Cassibula*, which signifies the same, and occurs in the will of W. Longspee, Earl of Salisbury, printed by Dug. Monast. Tom. ii. p. 79. He bequeaths among other things, “ *Cassibulam de rubeo samito, et unam capam chori de rubeo samito.*” It is sometimes written *Casubulae*, and is found in Faustus Monachus, in Vit. I. Papponis Abbatis, Cap. xiv. No. 58. “ *In celebratione missarum, Casubulam qua induebatur lacrymis humectabat.*” *Chasuble* is an old French word for a priest's habit, and hence the word *Chesable* in the text; which is frequently met with in monastic inventories.

† *Orphreys* interpreted by Speght, Gloss. to Chaucer, “ *Frizzelled cloth of gold.*” But it more properly signifies “ *gold fringe.*” Lat. *Aurifrisium*, not the cloth itself, but its appendage. Hence by degrees it came to signify any border in general. Vid. Dugd. Monast. Tom. iii. part 1. “ Two copes, having an *orphrey* of red velvet.” p. 296.—“ Tunicles with *orphreys* of needle-work.” p. 297.—“ A narrow *orphrey* of pearles.” p. 293. Eccles. Cath. Lincoln.

‡ *Morses*, Buckles. Lat. *Morsus*. Buckles were a striking decoration in the sacerdotal apparel. The curious reader may find various sorts of them described among the vestments, &c. of the church at York, Monastic. vol. 3. part 1. p. 173, 174. and of St. Paul, p. 309. And of St. George's chapel at Windsor, part 2. p. 83.

§ Johnson's proposals for a new edition of Shakespeare, p. 4.

XXVIII. Chaucer's Description of the Sleep of Plants.

MR. URBAN,

THE botanists pretend to have made a new discovery, which they call by a very pretty metaphorical name, *the sleep of plants*. I, Sir, who am no botanist in the least, have been long impressed with a notion that plants, some more and some less, are naturally contracted in their petals and leaves, by the coldness of the evening air, and on the contrary are expanded again by the return of the genial warmth of the sun. That this is so, is agreeable to nature and matter of fact, and that it should be so, is as consonant to reason. The fact is remarkably observable in the daisy, which towards the evening always erects and brings close its petals, and in the day time as constantly displays them. And this observation, concerning this flower, is as old as the time of Jeffrey Chaucer, who in the proeme to the *Legende of Good Women*, has the following lines.

59. There lovith no wight hartyer alyve,
 And whan that it is evyn I rhyne belyve,
 As sone as the sone ginneth to west,
 To see this floure, how it *woll go to rest*,
 For fere of night, so hatith the darkenes,
 Her chere is plainly spread in brightnesse
 Of the sonne for then it will uncloze:

I have a MS. of this part of the author, from whence, to spare the trouble of reporting various readings, I have transcribed the above passage *literatim*. Those who are curious may compare it, if they please, with the printed copies of Chaucer, since there are some variations, which I think preferable to what at present are read in Mr. Urry; however there are none that concern the subject of this letter. I proceed therefore to remark, 1st. That the shutting and opening of the flower is very plainly noticed. 2dly, That the poet has even pre-occupied the metaphor now used upon this occasion, *going to rest*, expressing very fully the modern term of *the sleep of plants*. 3dly. That this appearance is ascribed, by the author, to the flower's hating darkness and loving light; and not to the chilling cold of the evening, and the warmth of the sun in the day. For *darkness* here is to be understood literally; the author having a

particular notion of his own in this respect, as is plain from the etymology which he afterwards gives of its name. But before I transcribe that, I would note, that the author mentions again the opening of the flower in the morning, at v. 110, where he calls it its resurrection, and again at v. 117 and 123. Now, Sir, as to the etymon; he thinks it was called the *daisy*, quasi, *the day's eye*, *oculus diei*; for so he writes at v. 180. as in my MS.

The longe daie I shope me to abide
For nothing ells, and I shall nat lie,
But for to looke upon the daisie,
That well by reson men it call maie
The dayes ye, or els the ye of the daie.

I doubt the author is not right in his conjecture, for the word *daisy* comes rather, according to Dr. Skinner, from the French *daiz* or *daiz*, 'a canopy;' this flower having something of a resemblance to a canopy of state. But this is of no consequence in the present case, since the author deduces it very well for his purposes, which was to express in it an abhorrence of darkness and a love of light. However, the figure of a canopy, or crown, is so obvious in this flower, that this author could not avoid taking notice of it, though he gives to the word a different etymology, hence he writes, v. 212, as it is in the MS.

And fro me farre came walking in the mede
The god of love, and on his hande a quene,
And she was clad in a roiall habite grene,
A fret of golde she had next her here,
And upon that a white crowne she bere
With floures small, and I shall not lie,
For all the world right as a daisie
I crounid is, with white levis lite,
So were the floures of her crowne white,
And of perle fyne and oryentall,
Her white crowne was markidall,
For the which the white crowne above the grene,
Made her like a daisie for to sene,
Considerith eke her fret of gold above.

Mr. Urry here has *considered*, which is certainly better. Chaucer again alludes to the same resemblance, v. 527. *seq.*

I will detain you no longer with transcripts, but leave you and the reader to consult the passage at leisure.

Yours, &c.

1758, June.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXIX. Critique on a Passage in Horace.

MR. URBAN,

A VERY elegant author, in his treatise de Arte Poetica, lays down amongst his other rules, the following maxim :

—— Cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.

HOR. A. P. 40.

He says, that if the future poet would always chuse a subject, that should be *within his compass*, he would never either be deficient in method or diction. It is evidently the author's intention to say this, for the maxim immediately follows this precept,

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam
Viribus; et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri.—

and the old commentator accordingly explains *potenter legere*, by *secundum quod potest*. But, Sir, this expression can never signify to chuse *modestly*, *within one's compass*, or, *in proportion to our abilities*, but rather the contrary, to wit, *secundum quod non potest*, for the adverbs formed from the participles *sapiens*, *potens*, *prudens*, &c. do not express proportion, as when we say, *in proportion to*, but quality. Thus *sapienter* means wisely, or in a wise manner; *potenter*, powerfully, or in a powerful manner; and *prudenter*, prudently, or in a prudent manner; consequently *potenter legere* will signify to chuse *boldly*, rather than *modestly*, which is directly opposite to the author's intention. Now it appears from the old commentator above cited, that the reading here, notwithstanding this inconsistency, is ancient, but still I would submit it to the critics, to judge, whether Horace did not write,

—— Cui lecta pudenter erit res,
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.

This certainly agrees best with the foregoing precept, is an Horatian word, and is used by this author in the very same sense at the 51st verse,

Dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter.

Yours, &c.

1758, Sept.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXX. Observations on an Obsolete Latin Word.

MR. URBAN,

I SHOULD hardly have troubled you with the following observations concerning an obsolete and barbarous word, did they not concern a person of great distinction as an author, namely, the late Bishop Kennet, whose Parochial Antiquities are so generally, and indeed so justly, admired.

The ordinations of the vicarages of Godmersham in Com. Cant. and Dronfield, Com. Derb. the account of the Bedell of Boughton-Aluph, Com. Cant. Anno 9 Hen. V. Mr. Hearne, in his Curious Discourses, p. 77. William Thorne, in his Chronicle, *inter Decem Scriptores*, col. 2010, 2088, 2089, *et alibi*; *Glossaria Labbæi* vv. *Auca* et *xm*; and, lastly, *Bede*, in his history, p. 255, do all present us with the word *Auca*, agreeing to write it with the fifth vowel. But Bishop Kennet, in the Parochial Antiquities, p. 455, misreading, as I presume, his original, has printed it *Anca**, several times; and in the Glossary to that work he has reported it accordingly, and has deduced it from *Anserina*, which to me seems very unnatural, and highly improbable; *n* and *u* in the MSS. of the later ages are so much alike, that they are very easily mistaken one for another.

You will please to observe, Sir, that the bishop consents so far as to allow that the word signifies *a goose*; but then he errs again in saying, that it is “generally female in distinction from the gander,” for there is no foundation in the world for such a distinction, the word in most cases meaning both sexes, to wit, the entire species.

You see, Sir, that in this one article of his Glossary, there are no less than three errors concerning this word; 1st. As to the orthography; 2dly. The etymology; and 3dly. The

* Bishop Gibson also in the Append. to the Codex, p. 35, writes *ancis*, misled probably by Dr. Kennet.

interpretation. There are more in the sequel, as to the English words *hank*, and to *hanker after*, which I perhaps may notice by and by.

It seems to me that *Auca*, a term of the base Latinity, is a mere technical word, formed from the sound which the bird makes, when it cries; not so much when it cackles, as when it calls for its companions; and *quære*, whether the English word *aukward* be not more rationally deduced from *auca*, (this animal being both perverse and aukward) than from the Saxon *Æwerd*, from whence the glossographers generally derive it. And possibly the local northern word, *to squawk*, may have no other original but this, the initial letters *squ* being nothing but addition, by that figure, which the rhetoricians call *prosthesis*. Let the reader judge.

Now, as to the words *hank*, and to *hanker after*, which I promised to touch upon, Bishop Kennet writes thus, "*anca*, *ancus*, was the thigh or hind leg,—*affer quatuor panes*, *affer ancum porci*, i. e. a leg of pork. Hence a *haunch* of venison; up to the *haunches* in dirt; and hence, with some allusion, to have a *hank* upon, to *hanker after*." No doubt but the word *hanch* comes from the Latin and Italian *anca*, but mediately perhaps from the French *hanche*. *Anca* is probably from the Latin, *ancus*, which, as Festus says, signifies, *qui aduncum brachium habet, ut exporrigi non possit*, and M. Dacier upon Festus observes, that Ancus Martius, the third king of Rome, obtained his name from this circumstance. The Greek word *Αγκων*, signifies *cubitus*, and Junius inclines to think *anca*, or *hanch*, may come from thence "*ab αγκων, quod non modo cubitum, sed quemlibet membrorum flexum, Budæo authore, significat*." The reader may take which etymology he pleases; but who can discern any allusion between the words *hank*, and to *hanker after*, and a leg of pork or a haunch of venison, as mentioned by the bishop? This surely is fetching things very far, when it is so obvious to deduce the substantive *hank*, in the phrase to *have a hank upon a person*, from a hank of thread, which Dr. Lye very plausibly deduces from the Islandic *hank*, '*vinculum*'; as if you should say, "*ita vinculis obstrictum aliquem habere, ut præ metu ad omnia, quæ volueris, præsto sit*." And so as to a *hank of thread*, he tells us, that *hank* and *haunk* in the Islandic language, is, "*funiculus in forma circuli colligatus*." To *hanker after a thing*, seems to have a quite different original; this means *inhiare*, *anxie rem appetere*, and therefore the same learned author derives it from the Dutch *hunkeren*, which, I suppose, signifies 'to hunger;' insomuch, that to *hanker after any thing*, means, to hunger after it; a manner of speaking of the

same import with that other metaphorical one, of thirsting after a thing.

Yours, &c.

1758, Oct.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXXI. A Passage in Virgil explained.

MR. URBAN,

VIRGIL being the prince of the Latin poets, it would be desirable to have every single passage in him rightly understood. There is one, however, in the first book, which the interpreters, those at least which I have an opportunity of consulting, do in general, methinks, mistake. The words are these:

Hæc ubi dicta, cavum, conversa cuspide, montem
Impulit in latus.

Æn. i. 85.

He is speaking of Æolus, the king of the winds, who, with his sceptre, say the interpreters, *quod celsa arce sedens manu tenebat*, v. 60. pierced the side of the mountain, and from the aperture therein made, the brother winds hastily and impetuously, and as it were in a crowd, rushed out. Thus Servius. "Cavum] ordo est; conversa cuspide cavum montem in latus impulit. Et alibi:

In latus, inque feri curvam compagibus alvum,
Contorsit:

"Quasi in rem, quæ facile cedit ictui." The verse here quoted occurs, Æn. ii. 51. where the poet is writing of the Trojan horse, whose side was perforated by the lance of Laocoon. And, in the same manner, Mons. de la Rue, in his verbal interpretation, "Concussit cavernosum montem ad latus intorta cuspide;" as likewise Mr. Dryden, in his translation,

He said, and hurl'd against the mountain's side
His quiv'ring spear, and all the god applied.
'The raging winds rush through the hollow wound, &c.

In short these expositors wanted only a hole or opening for the winds to rush out at, and having found one so readily

in the side of the mountain, they were content. But the author, in my opinion, meant to tell us, that Æolus

(——— tenet ille immania saxa
Vestras, Eure, domos :———) v. 143.

pushed the mountain on its side, overturning it so with a blow of his spear, that from the aperture at the root, the struggling winds were enabled to get out. Certainly this interpretation, which the words will perfectly well bear, expresses the power of the god in a much more grand and sublime manner, than the other does, which only represents him as making a hole in the mountain's side. The overturning of a lofty and ponderous mountain creates in us the most magnificent idea imaginable; I would therefore give the passage thus:

No sooner said, but with his trident couch'd,
He turn'd the hollow mountain on its side.

And, if I mistake not, our Milton understood the place in this manner, when he says,

——— As if on earth
Winds under ground, or waters forcing way
Sidelong, had pushed a mountain from its seat,
Half sunk with all its pines.

Milton, vi. 195.

The words, *had pushed a mountain from its seat*, are a clear imitation of those in the Roman poet, *montem impulit in latus*. But how nobly has the English poet improved upon the Roman one, by that addition, *half-sunk with all its pines*! This is making the thought in a manner his own; and thus it generally fares, whenever any passages of the ancients come into the hands of true geniuses; the jewels are always then set to the best advantage.

Yours, &c.

1758, Dec.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXXII. A brief Account of the various Translations of the Bible into English.

I CANNOT learn that any part of the Holy Scriptures, translated into the ancient British tongue, is now remaining. It is not indeed certain, that they were ever translated into

that language; if they were, it is probable they were all destroyed in that general devastation which was made under Dioclesian about the year 301, when, as Fox in his *Acts and Monuments*, page 89, relates, on the credit of ancient authors, “almost all Christianity was destroyed in the whole island; the churches subverted; all the books of the scripture burned; and many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain.” Yet I may observe, that in Chaucer’s time, there was a tradition that *the Gospels* were extant in the British tongue, when Alla was king of Northumberland, in the sixth century. Chaucer’s words, in the *Man of Lawe’s Tale*, are these :

A Breton boke, written with Evangiles,
Was set, and thereon he swore anone, &c.

But as this might be only a poetical fancy, I shall lay no great stress upon it.

The Saxons made themselves masters of this island somewhat before the year 500; and after the Saxon inhabitants of this country (says Mr. Lewis, in his *History of the Translations of the Bible into English*) were converted to Christianity, we are sure they had the whole Bible in their own country character and language. The most ancient version of the gospels, in that language, that I have found mentioned, is that of one Aldred, a priest, inserted in the code of Eadfride, Bishop of Lindisfarne, about the year 680, (or as others say 730) which was near a hundred years after the Abbot Augustine, with forty Benedictine monks, were sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the First, to instruct the Saxons in the Christian religion.

Venerable Bede, who was a Saxon, we are told (See Lewis’s *Hist.* page 6) translated the whole Bible into the Saxon tongue, and that King Alfred did the same. Yet Bale tells us, that Alfred translated only part of the Psalms; “*Psalterium Davidicum, quod morte preventus non perfecit;*” and Aug. Calmet says, that Cuthbert, Bede’s scholar, in the catalogue of his master’s works, speaks only of his translation of the Gospels into that language, and says nothing of the rest of the Bible. Bede died in 735, and Alfred in 901.

It is generally held, that the first translation of the Bible into English was made by John Wickliffe, who was born at Wickliffe, in Yorkshire, and educated at Merton college in Oxford; he translated it from the Latin Bibles then in use, as the Saxon versions had been done before. This translation

must have been made some time before the year 1384, when Wickliffe died. Aug. Calmet says, it is not known that this translation was ever printed, but that there are several MSS. of it in England. The same learned Benedictine also informs us, that John Trevisa is supposed to be the first who translated the Bible into English, and that his translation was finished in the year 1357. This John Trevisa was vicar of Berkley, in Gloucestershire; afterwards there was a revisal made of Wickliffe's translation by some of his followers; or, as some think, a new version, with several corrections. And these are all the English translations of the whole Bible, (as far as I can find) that were made before the art of printing was invented, which art was first brought into England by William Caxton, about the year 1470, or very soon after.

In the year 1526, William Tindal, a Welchman, but educated at Oxford, first printed his New Testament in English, in 8vo. at Antwerp, where he then resided. This translation was not made, as the former ones had been, from the Vulgate Latin, but from the original Greek. About four years after this he published the Penteteuch in English, from the original Hebrew; and continued to translate several other books of the Old Testament, till the time of his death, which was at Tilford, or Wilford, near Bruxells, in the year 1536, where he was first strangled, and then publicly burnt. But the year before this, the whole Bible was translated into English by Myles Coverdale, a native of Yorkshire, but residing somewhere beyond sea; it was published in folio, and dedicated to King Henry VIII. Of this Bible, it is said there were only two more editions, one in a large 4to, in 1550, and another in 1553. Some suppose this version was made partly by Tindal, and partly by Coverdale.

In 1537, Matthews's Bible, as it was called, was printed with the king's licence; of which there was another edition in 1551. Mr. Lewis, (*Hist. of Transl. of Bib.* p. 111.) is of opinion, that this Thomas Matthews is a fictitious name, and that one John Rogers was the translator, or at least the publisher of that edition. This John Rogers was educated at Cambridge, and became acquainted with Tindal at Antwerp; but in Queen Mary's reign, (being then in England) he was burnt on account of his printing that Bible.

In the year 1539, Matthews's Bible was published with some alterations and corrections, in a large folio, printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, which was called Cranmer's, or the Great Bible; and the same year also, one Taverner published another edition of this Bible; in this edition

likewise some other corrections were made. Taverner was born at Brisley, a village in Norfolk, Anno 1505. He was, as Bale expresses it, "Tam Græce quam Latine expertus, in operibus componendis et transferendis singulare donum habens."

The next revision and publication of the Bible was made under the care and direction of Archbishop Parker, and as several Bishops were employed in that revision, it is sometimes called the *Bishop's Bible*. This was printed by Richard Jugge, Anno 1568, in folio, and had several impressions afterward.

The Roman Catholics (that were English) 1582, made a translation of the New Testament in English, from what they call the authentical Latin (meaning the Vulgate,) and because it was printed at Rheims, a city of Champagne in France (where they then chiefly resided) it is usually called the Rhemish Testament; and in 1609, they also printed the Old Testament at Douay.

In the reign of King James I. a new, complete, and more accurate translation of all the holy scriptures was made by fifty-four learned men, appointed by royal authority for that purpose, and it was printed in folio in 1611, they having spent about three years in completing it.

Some English refugees, that fled to Geneva in Queen Mary's time, on account of their religion, made a translation of the New Testament into their native language; and that was printed at Geneva by Conrad Badius, in 1557, and was the first New Testament in English, with the distinction of verses by numeral figures. The division of the sacred books into chapters is ascribed to Hugo de Sancto Claro, a Dominican monk, who died in 1262. But this division into verses, marked by numeral figures, was first made by Robert Stephens, the learned and celebrated French printer, in a Greek Testament, which he printed in 1551; and four years after that the Vulgate Latin Bible was divided in the same manner. But it was not till the year 1560, that the whole Bible was printed at Geneva, which edition is in quarto.

I have by me an edition of the Bible in English, containing the Old and New Testament and Apocrypha, which escaped the search of the diligent Mr. Lewis; it is a small 4to. divided into chapters, but not distinguished by verses. I know not where it was printed, it being defective at the beginning and end. But Mr. Ames, secretary to the society of Antiquaries, has one of the same edition, in his curious collection, that is complete. He informs me, his

was printed by R. Grafton, Anno 1553. Before this information was given me, I was of opinion, that mine had been printed somewhere abroad, because the paper is made *yellow* by some art; why it was so stained I can give no good reason, not having observed any books printed on paper of that colour, that I remember, in England.

All the critical essays, that I have seen upon our last translation of the *Bible*, appear to me upon the whole to be but trivial. Doubtless some passages might be better expressed; but I do not find, that it is charged with any essential, or even material fault; and therefore I look upon it as a true and good version, and that we shall not want another, till by length of time, the flux and change of language shall render it obscure or unintelligible.

Wandsworth, Feb. 24, 1758.

W. MASSYE.

1758, *March.*

XXXIII. Account of the Translators of the Bible.

MR. URBAN,

IN your Supplement for 1764, a correspondent from Bath requests an account of the translators of the Bible now in use, who and what they were. As I have not yet seen an answer to this request, I take the liberty of sending you a copy of *the order set down for the translating the Bible by King James*, from the collection of records in the 2d Vol. of Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 366, folio: and have added a few notes relating to some of the translators.

The places and persons agreed upon for the Hebrew, with the particular books by them undertaken, were as follow:

WESTMINSTER.

*Mr. Dn. of Westm.	} Penteteuchon; and the story from Joshua to the first book of Chronicles exclusive.
†Mr. Dn. of St. Paul's	
Dr. Saravia	
Dr. Clark	
Dr. Leifield	
Dr. Teigh	
Mr. Burleigh	
‡Mr. King	
Mr. Tompson	
Mr. Beadwell	

CAMBRIDGE.

Mr. Lively	} From the first of Chro- nicles, with the rest of the story, and the Hagiographi, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Can- ticles, Ecclesiastes.
§Mr. Richardson	
Mr. Chatterton	
Mr. Dillingham	
Mr. Harrison	
Mr. Andrews	
Mr. Spalding	
Mr. Burge	

OXFORD.

Dr. Harding	} The four or greater Prophets, with the La- mentations, and the twelve lesser Pro- phets.
Dr. Reynolds	
Dr. Holland	
Dr. Kilbye	
Mr. Smith	
¶Mr. Brett	
Mr. Fairclough	

* (Dean of Westminster) Launcelot Andrews. He was born in London in 1565, was made Dean of Westminster in 1601, Bishop of Chichester in 1605, Bishop of Ely in 1609, Bishop of Winchester in 1618, and died in 1626. See Biogr. Dictionary.

† (Dean of St. Paul's) John Overall. He was made Dean of St. Paul's in 1601, and Bishop of Norwich in 1618.

‡ (Mr. King) was probably the same with John King, who was consecrated Bishop of London in 1611, and died in 1618. See Heylin's *Help to English History*.

|| (Mr. Tompson) Might not this be the same with Robert Tompson who was Dean of Westminster in 1617, and Bishop of Salisbury in 1620?

§ (Mr. Richardson) Dr. John Richardson was of Cambridgeshire. Magn. Brit. Vol. I. p. 263.

¶ (Mr. Brett) Dr. Richard Brett, the greatest linguist of his time, was rector of Quarendon, in Buckinghamshire, and lies buried in the chancel there. Mag. Brit. Vol. I. p. 217.

CAMBRIDGE.

Dr. Dewport	} The prayer of Man- nesses, and the rest of the Apocrypha.
Dr. Braithwait	
Dr. Radcliffe	
Mr. Ward, Eman.	
Mr. Downes	
*Mr. Boyes	
Mr. Warde, Reg.	}

The places and persons agreed upon for the Greek, with the particular books by them undertaken.

OXFORD.

Dean of Christchurch	} The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Apocalypse.
†Dean of Winchester	
‡Dean of Worcester	
Dean of Windsor	
Mr. Savile	
Dr. Perne	
Dr. Ravens	
Mr. Haviner	}

* (Mr. Boyes) This gentleman was born at Nettlestead, in Suffolk, Jan. 3, 1560. His capacity was such, that at five years of age he read the Bible in Hebrew; and at fourteen was admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, June 21st, 1585, he was ordained deacon; and the next day, by virtue of a dispensation, priest. He was ten years chief Greek lecturer in his college, and read every day. On the death of his father, he succeeded him in the rectory of West Stowe. He performed not only his own part in the translation of the Bible, but also the part assigned to another, with great reputation, though with no profit, for he had no allowance but his commons. He was also one of the six who met at Stationer's Hall to revise the whole; which task they went through in nine months, having each from the company of Stationers, during that time, thirty shillings a week. In 1615, Dr. Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely, bestowed on him, unasked, a prebend in his church. He died Jan. 14, 1643. See Biogr. Dict.

† (Dean of Winchester) George Abbot was born Oct. 29, 1562, at Guildford, in Surry, was elected probationer fellow of Balliol College in Oxford in 1568, took his bachelor of divinity's degree in 1593, proceeded doctor in that faculty in 1597, and in the same year was elected master of University College. In 1599 he was installed Dean of Winchester, the year following was chosen vice-chancellor, and a second time in 1603. In 1604 had his share in translating the Bible, the year following was a third time vice-chancellor, was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1609, the same years was translated to London, in 1610 to Canterbury, and died in 1633. Biog. Dict.

‡ (Dean of Worcester) Rich. Edes, was probably a native of Bedfordshire, Magn. Britan. Vol. I. p. 150.

WESTMINSTER.

Dean of Chester	}	The epistles of St. Paul. The Canonical epistles.
Dr. Hutchinson		
Dr. Spencer		
Mr. Fenton		
Mr. Rabbet		
Mr. Sanderson		
Mr. Dakins		

The Rules to be observed in Translation of the Bible.

1. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishop's Bible, to be followed, and as little altered, as the truth of the original will permit.
2. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained as nigh as may be, according as they were vulgarly used.
3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, &c.
4. When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of the faith.
5. The division of the chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.
6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words; which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.
7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the reference of one scripture to another.
8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter, or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.
9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his majesty is very careful in this point.
10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof,

note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which, if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.

11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed, by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment of such a place.

12. Letters to be sent from every bishop, to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge, as many as being skilful in the tongues, and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

13. The directors in each company, to be the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.

14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishop's Bible; viz. Tindal's, Matthews's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.

15. Besides the said directors before-mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines, in either of the Universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the Heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek; for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified.

1758, *Aug.*

E. G.

XXXIV. A Passage in Cicero de Senectute corrected from a MS.

MR. URBAN,

THE manuscripts of Cicero de Senectute are very numerous, and so many of them have been already examined, that it is hardly worth while to think of consulting any more; and yet having had an old book by me now many years, I have lately passed a day or two out of curiosity in collating it. It is written in a fair hand on vellum, and I formerly lent it to Dr. Davies, the learned master of Queen's College, Cambridge; and he, I presume, made some use of it; but as he did not live long enough to give the world an edition of this part of Tully's works, I cannot tell what became of his collation.

I do not take this MS. of mine to be particularly valuable,

either on account of its antiquity, or its correctness; there are too many marks of recency as to the first; and in regard to the second, the scribe seems to me to have been some ignorant Italian. However, there are some places, where, as I think, the readings are preferable to what we now have, and I purpose here to give you an instance of one in a passage very celebrated.

Cato in § 83. after speaking of the desire he has of visiting those great dead, of whom he had heard, and read, and himself had written, proceeds thus, “ Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit, neque *tamquam Peliam recoxerit.*” The MS. here has, *tamquam Pilam re-torserit.* See the notes in Verburgius’s edition.

The fate of Pelias is very differently related by authors; Diodorus Sic. Lib. iv. Ovid. Met. vii. 4. and Epist. Med. Jasoni. v. 129. Apollodorus, Biblioth. i. § 27. Zenobius, iv. 92. Hyginus, Tab. 24. all agree in representing Medea as directing the daughters of Pelias to cut their father to pieces, in order to his being restored by her to his former youth; this they did; but she, instead of restoring him, mounted her chariot and fled. Thus she was revenged of Pelias, the enemy of her paramour Jason; and the hero Pelias, was so far from regaining his juvenile state, that he was miserably put to death by his own daughters. Now, according to this account, the vulgar reading cannot stand, because it was not true in fact that Pelias was restored to life. But then on the other hand, Plautus in Pseudolo, A. iii. Sc. 2. speaks of Pelias as being actually restored to his youth by the art and skill of Medea.

Co. Quia sorbitione faciam ego te hodie mea,
Item ut Medea Peliam concoxit senem :
Quem medicamento, et suis venenis dicitur
Fecisse rursus ex sene adolescentulum.
Item ego te faciam.

These repugnant accounts make the reading in Cicero very uncertain; the question is, whether he followed Plautus or not. Plautus is not very accurate in his mythology; for example, in Rudens, A. iii. Sc. 1. he represents Philomela and Progne as turned into swallows, which is a gross error, and a person that could write so might well be mistaken as to the fate of Pelias; but in the age of Cicero, the story of Pelias was better known, and, in my opinion, he cannot reasonably be supposed to follow Plautus in his error: for

such I take it to be. But let us try the received reading by some other rules. Now methinks it cannot well be retained on account of what there immediately follows, “*Quod si quis deus mihi largiatur, ut ex hac ætate repuerascam, et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem,*” where Cato declares expressly, that he would not choose to be a youth or a child again, which makes a manifest tautology, if we are to read before *tamquam Peliam recoxerit*. But what is more, something is here required that may better correspond with the terms *proficiscentem* and *retraxerit*, with which the reading of the MS. *tamquam Pilam retorserit* certainly accords best. It is a metaphor or image taken from the game of tennis, and Cato says, “that since he was in his way to meet those great men he had been speaking of, no one should easily withhold him, or strike him back, like a ball.” Nothing can be more apposite or more expressive of his desire of not being diverted, or beaten from his purpose; and I am fully of opinion, for my part, that the passage was altered into *Peliam recoxerit* by some one who remembered that other passage above quoted from Plautus.

Yours, &c.

1759, May.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXXV. The pretended Power of Witchcraft over the Winds.

MR. URBAN,

ONE of the vain and groundless pretensions of the ancient professors of sorcery and witchcraft was, that they could raise, control, and dispose of the winds. Thus Medea says,

—— Ventos abigoque vocoque. Ov. Met. vii.

The witches in Macbeth converse to the same effect;

1st *Witch*. A sailor's wife had chesnuts in her lap,
And mouncht, and mouncht, and mouncht: give me,
quoeth I.

Aroint thee, witch!—the rump-fed ronyon cries.¹
Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' th' Tyger:
But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
And like a rat without a tail,
I'll do—I'll do—and I'll do.

2d *Witch*. I'll give thee a wind.

1st *Witch*. Thou art kind.

3d *Witch*. And I another.

1st *Witch*. I myself have all the other,

And the very points they blow,

All the quarters that they know

I' th' shipman's card.

Though his bark cannot be lost

Yet it shall be tempest-tost.

Act. I. Sc. 3.

The fourth verse is an heroic of ten syllables, as appears from the three preceding ones; wherefore it ought to be reformed,

Her husband's t' Aleppo, master o' the Tyger.

T' Aleppo is the same as *to Aleppo gone*, and somebody that did not relish the ellipsis, hath wrongfully inserted *gone*. Thus, above, you have the like ellipsis, for the sake of the metre, *give me*, for *give me some*; but what is most material in this case, the verb of motion is very often omitted in such phrases.

Malc. I'll to England.

Don. To Ireland I.

Macb. II. 5.

Rosse. Will you to Scone?

Macd. No, cousin, I'll to Fife.

Rosse. Well, I will thither.

Macb. II. 6.

Macb. I will to-morrow

(Betimes I will) unto the weird sisters.

Come, we'll to sleep.

Macb. III. 5.

Buck. I'll to the king.

Brand. You shall to the Tower.

King. Let him on.

Henry VIII. 1. see also King Lear, I. II. III.

In short, the brevity of dialogue and conversation, has produced a thousand examples of this ellipsis, not only in this, but others also of our stage authors. It is very common in other writers likewise.

The three next verses consist of eight syllables, and therefore we should read

I'll do—and I'll do—and I'll do.

As to the sequel, it was *ports* once, instead of *points*; Mr. Pope, I think, first altered it, and Mr. Theobald followed him, but upon what authority I know not; but if this emendation be not warranted by any old edition, I should be for retaining *ports*, it being very good English to say, *the wind blows such or such a port*. Besides, as *quarters* follows, the word *points* seem to me to make a meer tautology, for I know no difference in respect of winds between *quarters* and *points*; I am sure we make none in common discourse, it being the same thing for us to say, *the wind's in such a quarter*, or *in such a point*. But one can make no very good sense of this passage as it now stands, with either of these readings; wherefore I suspect the rhymes have been transposed in copying, and that the whole ought to be restored thus;

I myself have all the other,
And the very* *ports do know*,
All the quarters that *they blow*
I'th' shipman's card.

She has the other winds, she says, and what is more knows the several ports they blow *to*, and all the quarters they blow *from*.

But to return now to what we were upon, viz. the dealings of magicians and enchanter's with winds: "The Laplanders," says Scheffer, "have a cord tied with knots for the raising of wind; they, as Ziegler relates it, tie their magical knots in this cord; when they untie the first there blows a favourable gale of wind; when the second, a brisker; when the third, the sea and wind grow mighty stormy and tempestuous. This that we have reported concerning the Laplanders, is by Olaus Magnus, and justly related of the Finlanders, who border on the sea, and *sell winds* to those merchants that traffic with them, when they are at any time detained by a contrary one."

Scheffer thinks that what Ziegler relates of the Laplanders, does not, in fact, belong to them, but to the Finlanders of Norway, because no other writers mention it, and because the Laplanders live in an inland country. However, the method of selling winds is this: "They deliver a

* An attempt has been made to change *very* into *various*, but there is no occasion for it. The sense is, my knowledge is so perfect and exact in this matter, that I know the *very ports* which the several winds blow. This is both very good sense, and very good English.

small rope with three knots upon it, with this caution, that when they loose the first, they shall have a good wind; if the second, a stronger; if the third, such a storm will arise that they can neither see how to direct the ship and avoid rocks, or so much as stand upon the decks, or handle the tackling." He notes also another particular, not less extraordinary than their selling of winds. "Those," says he, "that are skilled in this art, have command chiefly over the winds that blow at their birth, so that this wind obeys principally one man, that another, as if they obtained this power when they first received their birth." Something of this, of one person's having power over one wind, and another over another, is evidently alluded to in the conversation of the witches in Macbeth, quoted above. These northern wizards pretended also to a power of stopping the course of ships; this, it seems, was attributed both to the Finlanders of Norway and the Laplanders, who, according to the different affection they have for merchants, make the sea either calmer or more tempestuous*.

But, Sir, I shall now shew you, that these notions and practices were not confined to these northern parts only, but likewise extended to the more southern ones. Thus Pomponius Mela, who wrote in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, delivers, concerning a set of priestesses in the Island or Sena, or the Isle des Saints, on the coast of Gaul, "Sena in Britannico mari Osismicis adversa littoribus, Gallici numinis† oraculo insignis est: cujus antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur: *Barrigenas* vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et prædicere: sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent profectis;" which may be translated thus: "The Island of Sena, which lies in the British sea, opposite to the coast of the Osismici, is famous for an oracle of a Gaulish deity. The priestesses, who profess perpetual virginity, are said to be in number nine: they call them *Barrigenæ*, and esteem them to be endowed with very extraordinary qualities; such as troubling the sea, and

* Scheffer's Hist. of Lapland, p. 58.

† It is uncertain whether this means the *Gallic* deity, κατ' ἐξοχὴν or only a *Gallic* deity. I understood it in the latter sense, and shall intimate in a future letter, that he was probably the God whom the Gauls worshipped under the idea, and with the attributes of Bacchus.

raising the winds by their enchantments; transforming themselves into whatever animals they please; curing disorders incurable by everybody else, and knowing and foretelling things future. However, they are subservient only to seafaring people, and only to such of them as come on purpose to consult them."

It is remarkable that they were thought not only able to disturb the sea, and raise the wind, as the Laplanders, or rather Finlanders, above, are supposed to be; but moreover, to be employed, as they were, chiefly in the service of navigators, which makes the resemblance more striking. A learned man thinks, and another great scholar assents to it, that the French word *baragouin* comes from the mumblings and gibberish of these sorcerers, who were called *Barrigenæ*. But this shall be considered in another paper.

But there is an instance still more apposite than this; Ranulph Higden tells us in the *Polychronicon*, p. 195, that the witches in the Isle of Man, anciently *sold winds* to mariners, and delivered them in *knots tied upon a thread*, exactly as the Laplanders did. "In illa insula vigent sortilegia, superstitiones, atque præstigia, nam mulieres ibidem navigatoris ventum vendunt, quasi sub tribus fili nodis inclusum, ita ut sicut plus de vento habere voluerint plures nodos evolvant."

This notion of confining and bestowing winds, is as ancient as it was extensive, for thus it is said of Æolus in the *Odyssey*,

The king with mighty gifts my suit approv'd;
The adverse winds in *leathern bags* he brac'd,
Compress'd their force, and lock'd each struggling blast;
These in my hollow ships the monarch hung
Securely fetter'd by a silver thong*.

Eustathius says, they who practised the art of incantation, or charms, made use of the skin of a dolphin, and pretended, by certain ceremonies, to bind or loose the winds as they pleased†. However, Ulysses's companions were so foolish afterwards as to set these adverse winds at liberty. But there is some difference between this case and those above-mentioned; Æolus, being king of the winds, was a proper power to dispose of them; and moreover, they were the adverse, or unfriendly winds that were imprisoned, whilst the favour-

* Pope's *Odys.* Lib. x. 18. seq.

† See the notes on Pope's *Odys.*

able ones were at liberty. Calypso, in other places of the *Odyssey*, is supposed to be able to confer favourable winds*. This approaches nearer to the cases of Lapland, and the Isle of Man, only it is not said that her winds were confined, as those of the witches and sorcerers of the north are supposed to be.

Our sailors, I am told, at this very day, I mean the vulgar sort of them, have a strange opinion of the devil's power and agency in stirring up winds, and that this is the reason they so seldom whistle on ship-board, esteeming that to be a *mocking*, and consequently an enraging of the devil. And it appears now, that even Zoroaster himself imagined there was an evil spirit called Vato, that could excite violent storms of winds. But notwithstanding all this, God is said *to bring the winds out of his treasures*; it is also written, that *at his word the stormy wind ariseth*; so that the devil was formerly endeavouring to ape the divine omnipotency, in this particular as well as so many others. He is, indeed, called in scripture, *the prince of the power of the air*†, and it is wonderful to reflect how far and how wide, and how generally, he has propagated the false persuasion, that he and his instruments, witches and wizards, had it in their power to raise or abate, to change, to communicate, to sell and transfer, a wind.

Yours, &c.

1763, Jan.

T. Row.

XXXVI. A Passage in P. Mela considered.

MR. URBAN,

THE Gauls, in Cæsar's time, were extremely addicted to superstition of all kinds, as he tells us, Lib. vi. de Bello Gall. Sect. 15. "Natio est omnis Gallorum, admodum dedita religionibus." And so it seems they continued. The passage which I lately cited from Pomp. Mela, iii. c. 6. being a flagrant instance of it; "Sena in Britanico mari Osismicis adversa littoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est: cujus Antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur: *Barrigenas* vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque

* See Lib. V. 216. 341, and Lib. VII. 352.

† Ephes. ii. 2.

in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et prædicere: sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent profectis." But the word *Barrigenas*, which occurs in the neat edition of Abr. Gronovius, and is the reading of his father Jacob, and of Is. Vossius, stands, in my opinion, upon no solid bottom. The MSS. have *Gallicenas*, *Galligenas*; and from hence Is. Vossius corrected it *Barrigenas*, which is now commonly received.

It happens, Sir, that Ricardus Corinensis, lately published by M. Bertram, at Copenhagen, has transcribed this passage, p. 47. and in the MS. he used, it stood *Senas Galli vocant*; by which transposition, and the reading of *Senas* for *Genas*, the principal foundations of Vossius's conjecture are totally subverted and destroyed.

But let us examine, before we finally discard it, what he has alleged in support of it.

He cites the Glossaries, to shew *Barrigenæ* signified *Peregrinæ*; but what reason is there for thinking the priestesses *Gallici numinis* were *Peregrinæ*? In others they are called *Bareginnæ*, and *Bargennæ*, which signifies a barbarous cry, or acclamation; which is still as little to the purpose; since these priestesses, though they were superstitious enough, were not more barbarous than the rest of the Gauls. He next observes, the women might be called *Barginæ*, and the men *Bargi*, which he asserts to be the same with *Bardi*. If this were the case, the *Barrigenæ*, who ranked with the *Bards*, could never with any propriety be taxed with barbarism; since they must have been rather more civilized and learned than the rest of the Gauls; and if *Bargus* were the masculine, the feminine, one would rather expect, should be *Barga*, than *Bargina*. He then tells us, that Gronovius thought the French word *Baragouin* was deduced from the barbarous sounds uttered by these *Barrigenæ*, in their incantations, and he highly approves it. But now the French themselves, particularly the most learned and polite Menage, give a more rational etymology of that word. "*Baragouin*," says this excellent author, "de ces deux mots *bara* et *gain*, qui signifient en Bas-Breton *pain* et *vin*, qui sont les deux choses dont on apprend premierement les noms quand on apprend les langues estrangeres. De ce mot *Baragouin* on a fait la verbe *baragouiner*, qui est comme qui diroit ne sçavoir autre chose d'une langue que les mots du *pain* et de *vin*," &c. This now agrees very well with the Glossaries, where *Barrigenæ* are explained by *Peregrinæ* and *Barbaræ*; and is, in my opinion, the true original of the word *Baragouin*.

But, to return to Vossius; he says, who can believe that Pomponius would write, that the women of the island of Sena were called by the Gauls *Senæ*? And this argument, from absurdity, is in truth his capital allegation; and yet there is little or no weight in it; for were not the Soothsayers of Chaldæa called Chaldæans? And are not those of Ægypt, at this day, termed Ægyptians, or Gypsies? And I dare say, if an Armorican Gaul, that could speak Latin, had then said, *proficiscor ad Senas consulendas*, he would have been understood to mean, he was going to consult these *Weird Sisters*, who were styled *Senæ*, καὶ ἐξοχῆν. I am therefore clearly of opinion, upon the whole, that Turnebus's conjecture, of Galli Senas, which is supported by the MS. used by Ric. Corinensis, is the true reading of this place.

If Richard's MS. were but one hundred years older than himself, which is as little as one can deem it, it was probably more ancient than any copy that has been hitherto collated.

However, before I dismiss the passage, I would beg leave to observe, that *apud alios*, which Schottus would expunge, occurred also in Richard's MS. where it is likewise *prædicere*. as both he and Pintianus conjectured, and not *prædicare*. And lastly, that whereas Schottus would read *didita*, or *dedita*, and Vossius also has substituted *deditas*, which is the received lection, Richard's MS. has *deditæ*, which no doubt is the truth, *erant* being understood; and that this is a legitimate word, in respect of Schottus, is clear, from the passage above-quoted from Cæsar. The latter part of the sentence will therefore stand thus, and so the future editor, I hope, will give it: "Galli Senas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ *apud alio* insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et *prædicere*. Sed non nisi *deditæ* navigantibus, et ob id tantum ut se consulerent profectis."

Quære, whether this same island be not intended by those words of Strabo, iv. p. 403. "In oceano autem insulam esse aiunt parvam, non plane in alto sitam, objectam ostio Ligeris: in ea habitare Samniticas Mulieres, Bacchico instinctu correptas, quæ Bacchum cæremoniis et sacrificiis demereantur," &c. The situation does not greatly vary: and it is possible the women might be called both *Senæ* and *Senitæ*, which last might easily be turned to *Samnitæ**.

* Xylander takes this word in Strabo to be *corrupted*; but I question that; for see the passage from Dionys. *περίηγ.* adduced by Casaubon; as also Joh. Galisius, and Menag. in Laert. p. 3.

But see Casaubon's note. If this be so, the Gallicum Numen, mentioned by Mela as having been here worshipped, was no other than Bacchus.

1763, Feb.

T. Row.

XXXVII. Critical Remarks on a Passage in Shakespeare's Othello.

OTHELLO II. 8.

Which thing to do,
If this poor trash of Venice, whom I do trace
For his quick hunting, stand the putting on,
I'll have our Michael Cassio on the hip,
Abuse him to the Moor, &c.

IAGO is here opening his designs against Othello, and his lieutenant Michael Cassio. By *this poor trash of Venice* he means Roderigo, who was a Venetian, and whom he had been just talking with in the foregoing scene. For *his quick hunting* means the speedy running down of Cassio, whom by means of Roderigo, if he could but keep him up to his metal, he intended, as he says, to ruin.

Mr. Warburton has two emendations on this passage, "Trash of Venice, a trifling insignificant fellow may, in some respects, very well be called *trash*; but the metaphor is not preserved; for what agreement is there between *trash* and *quick hunting*, and *standing the putting on*? The allusion to the chase, Shakespeare seems to be fond of applying to Roderigo, who says of himself, towards the conclusion of this act, 'I follow her in the *chase*, not like a *hound* that *hunts*, but one that fills up the *cry*.' I suppose, therefore, that the poet wrote,

If this poor *brach* of Venice,

which is a low species of *hounds of the chase*, and a term generally used in contempt; and this completes and perfects the metaphorical allusion, and makes it much more satirical. Utilius in his notes on Gracian, says, '*Racha* Saxonibus canem significabat, unde Scoti hodie *Rache* pro cane fœmina habent, quod Anglis est *Brache*. Nos vero (*he speaks of the Hollanders*) *Brach* non quemvis canem, sed sagacem vocamus.' So the French, *Brâque*, *espece de chien de chasse*. Menage etymol. [whom I do trace for his quick hunting] just the contrary. He did not trace him, he put him on, as he says immediately after. The old quarto leads to the true reading,

——— whom I do crush
For his quick hunting,

plainly corrupted from *cherish*;" and so this emendator gives it in his edition,

Whom I cherish.

Now, Sir, as for the first of these emendations, it is doubtless very obvious, but I fear will not bear examination: for I absolutely deny, that the *brach* was a *low species of hounds of the chace*, and a *term generally used in contempt*: and an instance is required of such its use, for I am certain that the authors whom he cites say no such thing. The passage of Janus Ulitius, whom here he erroneously calls *Utilius*, in his notes on Gracian (that is on Gratius, for so the author of the Latin poem entitled *Cynegeticon* is called, and not *Gratianus*) may be seen above; and as to Menage in *les Origines de la Langue Françoise*, v. Braque. Sir H. Spelman in his Gloss. v. Barmbraccus et Bracco. Lindenbrogius in Gloss. v. Bracco. Sir William Dugdale's Baron. I. p. 264. Fr. Junii. etymol. in v. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressid*, II. 2. *King Lear* III. 9. Massinger's *Unnat. Combat*. IV. 2. Webster's *White Devil*, p. 407. Broom's *Jov. Crew*, p. 348. All which are good men and true, and very impartial in this cause, and whom I have very carefully consulted; these none of them drop the least hint of the *Brach's* being of a *contemptible* or *degenerate* breed. But I will give you the words of John Caius, than whom no better judge can be required in this behalf, who, in his book *De Canibus Britannicis*, knows no other difference between the *Brach* and the best hound, but that the *Brach* was the female. These are his words, p. 496, Edit. Burmanni, "Quod autem ex his aliquas, Brachas nostri, Rachas Scoti sua lingua nominant, in causa sexus est, non genus. Sic enim canes foemineas in venatico genere vocare solent nostri;" and this agrees very well with what Ulitius delivers above, as likewise with Junius, and others, and in Broom's *Jov. Crew*. p. 348, *Beggar's-braches* are *Beggar-wenches*. Now, Sir, is it not a flat contradiction in terms to call a person *poor Brach*? or to style any thing of the male kind a *Brach*? Wherefore, I am of opinion, that the old reading of *poor trash* must stand, since Mr. Warburton will allow that a trifling insignificant fellow may very well be called *trash*; and, if so, it may certainly with equal propriety be applied to a paltry or worthless hound. But I am the clearer

in this on account of the pun, which the author appears here to aim at,

If this poor *trash* of Venice, whom I do *trace*, &c.

Now this pun, once conceived in the author's head, led him to proceed in the metaphor, and afterwards led him to carry on the speech in words borrowed from hounds and the chase, it being one of the sort itself; insomuch that these metaphorical allusions do not commence at the word *trash*, but at the word *trace*; from which point the metaphor is sufficiently followed and preserved, as there are no less than three terms from the chase employed, *trace*, *quick hunting*, and *putting on*.

We then proceed to consider this editor's second emendation, by which all this is lost, and the true foundation of these metaphorical terms, in my conception of things, totally removed and annihilated. He has altered the words *do trace*, or *do crush*, as it is corruptly printed in the old quarto, into *cherish*; *do crush* is evidently nonsense, and is a gross corruption of something; of *do trace*, probably, the scribe not understanding that term, and not of *cherish*; for though this may seem an easy corruption from *crush*, it could not well arise from *do crush*. In short, it appears to me from Mr. Warburton's attempting an emendation here, and his having recourse to the corrupt reading of the quarto, that he did not understand the meaning of the word *trace* in this place, any more than the printer or editor of the quarto did. It is a term of hunting or field sport; to *trace* sometimes signifies to *follow*, as Hen. VIII. iii. Sc. 2.

Now all joy trace the conjunction;

and a dog or a man *traces a hare*; but to *trace a dog* in those sports is to put a *trace*, or *pair of couples*, upon him, and such a dog is said to be *traced*. The sense then of

——— whom I do trace

For his quick hunting——

is this, whom I do associate to me for the purpose of ruining Cassio the sooner. In the using of these traced dogs, they often took the trace into their hands, and ran along with the dog, especially the blood hound, which is very apropos to this subject; for Dr. Caius, speaking of these hounds pursuing thieves, as well as beasts, says, “*iidem cum fures, insequuntur, non ea donantur libertate, qua cum feras, nisi in magna celeritate fugientium furum, sed loro retenti herum ducunt qua velit ille celeritate, sive pedes sit, sive eques.*”

Caius, p. 496, who likewise at p. 497, speaks of another sort of dog besides the blood hound, that was called *Lorarius*, *a loro quo ducitur*, in English, the *Lyemmer*.

In fine, Sir, were we to part with this word *trace*, we should lose in a manner all the beauty of this passage, whether we read *trash* or *brach* before; and if the former, which after what has been said, methinks we ought to do, we should lose even the very basis and foundation of all the following metaphors; insomuch that I am entirely for retaining it: and I cannot but wish for a conclusion, that our editors would bring a little more learning and a little more knowledge with them, when they undertake the emending of our ancient authors, and would not attempt writing upon subjects which they apparently do not, and must know they do not understand.

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam
Viribus; et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri.

Certainly, Mr. Urban, some of the mistakes detected above, are of a very gross kind, and must bring an editor to shame.

Yours, &c.

T. Row.

P.S. Should any think, the words *for his quick hunting* relate to Roderigo, and not to Cassio, the sense then will be, *whom I take into my hand on account of his eagerness, and keenness in the pursuit*; eagerness being a different thing from staunchness implied in *stand the putting on*.

1673, April.

XXXVIII. On the Conversion of St. Paul,

MR. URBAN,

THE festival which the church of England keeps in honor of the great apostle St. Paul, is that of his *conversion*, Jan. 25. which was, in truth, the most extraordinary and the most important passage of his life, as being the source of all his apostolical labors, and consequently of all the benefits which both by his preachings and his writings the Christian world received afterwards from him. The Latin, as likewise the Greek church, commemorate this apostle along with St. Peter, on the 29th of June, and several of our

parish churches, as founded before the Reformation, are dedicated to those two apostles in conjunction, and the *wake*, or *feast*, is accordingly celebrated on the Sunday next that day. But this is not the case with us Protestants, for in our calendars St. Peter stands alone on June 29, and the collect, the epistle, and gospel, relate solely to him; and so this feast is understood by Bishop Sparrow, Mr. Wheatley and the other rationalists, as likewise by Mr. Nelson, in that excellent work of his, “*The Companion for the Festivals and Fasts*;” insomuch that we Protestants commemorate only one festival in honour of St. Paul, to wit, his conversion, and even this was not admitted into the table of *holydays* at its first compiling, the reason of which may be seen in Mr. Wheatley.*

Now the history of the miraculous conversion of this apostle is related in the ix. xxii. and xxvi. chapters of the Acts, in the first of which places the account is, “And Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the High Priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem. And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus, and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven, and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man. And Saul arose from the earth, and when his eyes were opened he saw no man; but they led him by the hand, and brought him unto Damascus, and he was there without sight, and did neither eat nor drink,” &c.

It is well known how prone the history-painters are to run into errors and mistakes; and one very capital they in general have committed in relation to this affair; for I suppose there are very few pieces representing this subject that do not exhibit the apostle and his company on horseback, and consequently that do not make him, when the light so suddenly and so astonishingly shone around him, and he fell to

* Wheatley, p. 196, edit. 1722, 8vo.

the earth, to tumble from his horse. But in all the three narratives above cited, there is not the least foundation for this; on the contrary, I think it very apparent that the apostle was travelling on foot when this wonderful incident happened; for after he was risen from the ground, and had lost his sight through the intolerable brightness of the light from heaven, his fellow travellers set him not on his own beast, whether horse or ass, but *led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus*, a particular which is again noticed, and much in the same words*, in the xxii. chapter. It is possible, indeed, that this apostle being a Roman citizen by birth, and well educated as he was, might be in somewhat better condition of life than the other apostles, who were chiefly poor fishermen. He was, nevertheless, but a tent-maker, an honest, but a mean course of life; and, as Chrysostom observes, an argument that his parents were not of a nobler and better rank†; wherefore one has no reason to imagine he kept any beast to ride on. It is true, he carried letters from the High Priest, but these were obtained at his own request, and probably were nothing more than either a warrant to justify him in what he should attempt against the Christian converts at Damascus, or letters of recommendation to the leading men of the synagogue there, notifying his zeal for the cause, informing them who he was, and requiring them to be aiding and assisting him in the discharge of his bloody errand. Nothing is said of the High Priest's sending St. Paul to Damascus, and, in consequence thereof, equipping him: and as to the rest of the travels of our apostle, which make up so large a part of the Acts, we find him often on ship-board, but never on horseback, that I can remember, except when he was mounted by the Roman governor, Acts xxiii. and sent with expedition and secrecy by night to Cesarea. Insomuch, that one cannot but conclude that the apostle not only made this journey to Damascus on foot, but performed all his other excursions the same way, as the first preachers of the gospel commonly did. Of this we have a remarkable instance, in St. Ceada, or Chad, as related by Ven. Bede; his custom was to walk on foot when he was upon the ministry, though he was a bishop; but Archbishop Theodore, out of tenderness to him, enjoined him to ride when the journeys were longer than ordinary; and when he saw him rather

* The word in both places is *χειραγωγεν*.

† Dr. Cave in the Life of St. Paul.

unwilling to indulge himself in that sort, he compelled him to mount on horseback, by assisting him to do it with his own hand *.

Yours, &c.

1763, Aug.

T. Row.

XXXIX. On the Ellipsis.

MR. URBAN.

THE author of that late celebrated production, "The short Introduction to English Grammar," seems not to pay sufficient regard to the Ellipsis: thus p. 134, he reckons *that* for *that which* to be either improper or obsolete, whereas in fact, it cannot be said to be either. In respect of impropriety, the idioms of language depend much upon use and custom, which consequently must settle and ascertain what is proper and what not, and he himself has produced three good authorities for *that* used for *that which*; *which* being, as I take it, omitted in this case by Ellipsis. I shall add a few more examples from various authors.

"Do ye enquire among yourselves of *that* I said." Joh. xvi. 19.

"To do always *that* is righteous in thy sight." 3 Collect, Morning Service.

"Godliness is great riches if a man be content with *that* he hath." Communion Office.

"Bake *that* which ye will bake to day, and seethe *that* ye will seethe." Exod. xvi. 23.

"I am not bound to *that* all slaves are free to." Othello iii. 5.

"Why, *that* the Moor first gave to Desdemona." Ibid. iii. 7.

"Is it possible, he should know what he is, and be *that* he is?" All's Well that Ends Well iv. 1.

But as to Shakespeare, see Johnson's Dict. *in voce*,

"The gyse, now a dayes,
Of some jangling jayes,
Is, to discommend,
That they cannot mend." Skelton, p. 251.

in which author there are six other instances besides.

* Bede, p. 144, Edit. Smith.

“ For where eche labourer to breake *that* the other maketh.” Hall, Edw. v. fol. ii. b. And the same author elsewhere.

To the same sense is *that* in the dance of Machabree. fol. ccxxi. b. “ One man breaketh *that* another made.”

“ Small vaunt to flie *that* of constraint thou must.” Mirrour of Magistrates, p. 413.

“ The sonne of man hidder cam
Not for to destroye eny man
But to save *that* perished is.”

Invective against Card. Wolsey.

“ The king resolved to put nothing like restraint upon his commissioner, from effecting *that* he wished might be done to-morrow if it could be.” Lord Clarendon’s Life, ii. p. 107.

The usage, as appears from these instances, and no doubt an hundred more might be produced, is in a manner universal; and yet, as must be confessed, this way of speaking is just the contrary of these in Latin :

“ *Quod* tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris.
Quod factum fuisse non debuit, factum valet;”

where the pronoun demonstrative *id* ἡλλείπετε, being understood in the relative, for the full or plenary locution, I presume, should be *id quod*, whereas in the English idiom, which I am here endeavouring to establish, the relative is omitted, as being understood in the pronoun. *That*, in many, or most of these instances, corresponds with *what*, as will appear by substituting this word in its place*. But something should be said, at least, about obsoleteness, for though the expression may not be improper, yet perhaps it may be obsolete and out of date. Now to try this, I will introduce a common expression or two which everybody will allow to be current English at this day; of a bad man it is usual to say, *he has been guilty of all that’s bad*. As on the contrary, of a man of worth, *he has been a follower of all that’s great and good*. And so we should say, without scruple, of a finished drunkard, *he died by that he loved*.

Yours, &c.

1763, May.

T. Row.

* See the Short Introduction, l. c.

XL. Origin of some common Phrases.

MR. URBAN,

YOUR correspondents have now and then entertained us with the explanation of an obscure phrase or proverb, and their attempts were generally well received. Some of your readers would be pleased with them, whilst others would be disposed to laugh, which come to the same thing, namely, the amusement of both parties, and consequently answered one purpose of your Magazine, which was to intermix the *dulce* with the *utile*. I purpose then to endeavour here the explication of one of our common phrases, of which every one knows the meaning; and but few, as I take it, the original. It is a common saying with us, that a person is *a dab at such or such a thing*, at *music*, for example, *bowling*, &c. and sometimes people will say, *he is a dab*, without naming in what, leaving you to supply that from the subject you happen to be talking upon. Now all know that the sense and meaning of these expressions are, that the party is one that is very expert in the science, or at the exercise in question. However, these expressions are mere vulgarisms, are seldom met with in authors, and only find a place in our canting dictionaries: but, nevertheless, the word *dab* may possibly have a rational cause or origin, though to many it may be hard to investigate. This, then, is what I shall try to do.

Now as the word *dab* does not seem to be an old English one, that is, neither deducible from the British or the Saxon, it is probably a corruption of some better and more legitimate term, and, as I think, of the word *adept*. An *adept* is a term peculiar to the Hermetic philosophy, being allotted to the consummate proficients in *alchemy*, of whom the principal were Ripley, Lully, Paracelsus, Helmont, &c. And Mr. Chambers tells us, "That it is a sort of tradition among the alchemists, that there are always twelve *adepti*; and that their places are immediately supplied by others, whenever it pleases any of the fraternity to die, or transmigrate into some other place, where he may make use of his gold; for that in this wicked world it will scarce purchase them a shirt." From thence the word came to be applied metaphorically to other matters, and consequently to signify a person far advanced, or perfect in any thing; and therefore it obtains exactly the same sense as a *dab* does; wherefore I take this latter to be a vulgar corruption of the word *adept*,

which is no other than the Latin *adeptus*. Just as that other expression, which we have in the North, *a cute man*, is an abbreviation of *acute*, or the Latin *acutus*, and signifies a person that is sharp, clever, neat, or to use a more modern term, jemmy; according to the subject you happen to be speaking of. *Spice* again is a word which we use in the sense of a jot, bit, small portion, or least mixture; as when we say, *there is no spice of evil in perfect goodness*, in which case it is the latter part of the French word *espece*, which was anciently adopted into our language in this very sense, as appears from these words of Caxton: “God’s bounte is all pure . . . wythout ony espece of evyll.” Caxton’s *Mirroure of the World*, Cap. 1. *Espece* is formed, after the manner of the French, from the Latin *species*.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1767, Sept.

T. Row.

XLI. Derivation of the Phrase—to Run a Muck.

MR. URBAN,

WE have an expression of doubtful and very obscure original, it is the phrase, *to run a muck*; Mr. Johnson interprets it, *to run madly and attack all that we meet*, and he cites the authority of Mr. Dryden. The question is, whence the expression was borrowed, and what could give occasion to it? I remember a gentleman, who loved an etymology, observed, that it probably came from *running to Mecca* in one of those expensive and tedious pilgrimages which the followers of Mohammed think themselves obliged once in their lives to undertake, as prescribed in the Koran. And in confirmation of this, he remarked, that *to saunter*, which is now a common English word, came at first from *Sainte Terre*; the Croisees running in an idle manner, and to the neglect of their affairs, under pretence of being engaged in expeditions to the Holy Land. The etymology of *saunter* is undoubtedly probable, and may be the truth; but if Mr. Johnson has given us the real sense of *running a muck*, in his interpretation of the phrase, as I suppose he has, the chargeable and expensive pilgrimages to Mecca do not seem to come up to it; these imply only idleness and extravagance, which are not the ideas conveyed by *running a muck*, since this rather means, running a riot, and assaulting people’s persons with madness and fury, so as to endanger or take

away their lives. I am therefore of opinion that this expression came to us from the island of Java, in the East Indies. Tavernier says, “certain Java lords, on a particular occasion, called the English traitors, and drawing their poisoned daggers, cried *a mocca* upon the English, killing a great number of them before they had time to put themselves into a posture of defence.” Tavernier’s *Voyages*, II. p. 202. Again he tells us, that a Bantamois newly come from Mecca, “was upon the design of *moqua*; that is, in their language, when the rascality of the Mahometans return from Mecca, they presently take their axe in their hands, which is a kind of poniard, the blade whereof is half poisoned, with which they *run through the streets, and kill all those* which are not of the Mahometan law, till they be killed themselves.” Ibidem, p. 199. This seems to be an exact description of what we call *running a muck*, according to Mr. Johnson’s sense of it; and if the English did not bring the expression from the island of Java, the Hollanders might, and so it might come to us through their hands. Whereupon it may be pertinent to observe, that the term *Mohawk* came in like manner from North America to England; by which we mean both those ruffians who infested the streets of London in the same cruel manner which the *Mohawks*, one of the six nations of Indians, might be supposed to do, as likewise the instrument by them employed in their assaults.

Yours,

T. Row.

P.S. As we know not the original of the word *Mocca*, or *Moqua*, in the Javanese language, it is possible it may come from Mecca, since, as you may observe, this town is mentioned along with it in the latter quotation above. But still it will not allude to the pilgrimage to that place, merely as a pilgrimage, for this implies nothing of massacres and assassinations, but to the furious enthusiasm of certain zealots after their return from thence. The word *assassin*, that I may just mention it, is taken from the name of a people in Asia, just as *Mohawk* is in North America, so that there is nothing wonderful in words coming from even the remotest countries; but of the word *assassin* I may perhaps write you a line on a future occasion.

1768, June.

MR. URBAN,

One of your ingenious correspondents, who signs T. Row, some time ago, attempted to give us an account of the origin of the word *a muck*, or the phrase *running a muck*, but I have some reason to think he has not quite reached the mark, though he comes near it. The word is Indian, as he supposes, and is used particularly by the Mallays, on the same occasion on which we use it, though the particular meaning of it I do not know. The inhabitants of the islands to the eastward of Bengal, such as Sumatra, Borneo, Baneo, and the coast of Mallay, are very famous for cock-fighting, in which they carry gaming to a much greater excess than the customs of Europe can admit; they stake first their property, and when by repeated losses all their money and effects are gone, they stake their wives and children. If fortune still frowns, so that nothing is left, the losing gamester begins to chew, or eat what is called *bang*, which I imagine to be the same as opium; when it begins to operate he disfigures himself, and furnishes himself with such weapons as he can get, the more deadly the fitter for his purpose, and the effect of the opium increasing, as he intends it should, he at length becomes mad: this madness is of the furious kind, and when it seizes him, he rushes forth, and kills whatever comes in his way, whether man or beast, friend or foe, and commits every outrage which may be expected from a person in such circumstances. This is what the Indians call *a muck*, or perhaps as Mr. Row says, *a mecca*, and when it happens, the neighbours rise, and combining together, hunt down, and kill the wretched desperado, as they would any other furious or destructive animal. Perhaps these particulars may excite some of your correspondents who are skilled in the languages of this part of the east, to give you still farther information on the subject.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

Bengal, March 17, 1770.

A. B.

The authority quoted from Dryden by Johnson, very much favours this account of our Oriental correspondent, and probably gave T. Row the first hint of the word *a muck* being of Indian derivation, and it is therefore a pity that he did not cite it.

Frontless, and satire-proof he scours the streets,
And runs an INDIAN *muck* at all he meets.

Thus Johnson has printed it, but it may be questioned whether Indian is intended as an adjective to *muck*, or whether the words *an Indian*, are parenthetical: in either case it is printed wrong: if Indian is an adjective to *muck*, it should not have been printed with all capital letters, if not, the word *an* as well as the word *Indian*, should have been in the Roman character, and there should have been a comma both at *runs*, and *Indian*, thus

And *runs*, an *Indian*, *muck* at all he meets.

But in either case it shews that Dryden knew from what country the word was derived. By our present correspondent's account, it seems probable that a *muck* means to do mischief frantically. From the passage in Tavernier, quoted by T. Row, it seems to mean simply to kill by a sudden onset. We shall be much obliged to any of our distant or learned correspondents who will acquaint us with the literal meaning of the word.

1770, Dec.

XLII. Origin of the word *Assassin*.

MR. URBAN,

THE word *assassin*, whence comes to *assassinate*, *assassination*, &c. is both French and English; and it is supposed we borrowed it from the French. But that might not be the case, since both nations might have it from a common original, as nobody pretends to assert it is a pure French, or even a Gaulish word. Thus Mons. Menage acknowledges, that it came to the French from the East, *ce mot nous est venu du Levant avec la chose*. This author says, *Le Vieil de la Montagne*, the Old Man of the Mountain, prince of the Arsacides, or Assassins and Bedins, fortifying himself in a castle of difficult access, in the time of our expeditions to the Holy Land, collected together a number of people, who engaged to kill whomsoever he pleased. Hence, he adds, both the Italians and the French call these people *assassins* that committed murders in cold blood. It seems they were also called *Arsacides*. Menage cites his authorities, but passing them by, I shall content myself with giving you the words of one or two of our English authors. Dr. Fuller says, (Hist. of the Holy War, p. 38,) "These *assassins* were

a precise sect of Mahometans, and had in them the very spirit of that poisonous superstition. They had some six cities, and were about 40,000 in number, living near Antaradus in Syria. Over these was a chief master, whom they called, *The Old Man of the Mountains*. At his command they would refuse no pain nor peril, but stab any prince, whom he appointed out to death; scorning not to find hands for his tongue, to perform what he enjoined. At this day there are none of them extant, being all, as it seemeth, slain by the Tartarians, anno 1237," &c.

Mr. Sale, in his preliminary discourse to the Koran, p. 246, gives the following authentic account of them. "To the Karmatians, the Ismaelians of Asia were very near of kin, if they were not a branch of them. For these, who were also called *al molahedah*, or *the impious*, and, by the writers of the history of the Holy Wars, *assassins*, agreed with the former in many respects; such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the Mahommedan; their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for *assassinations*, or any other bloody or dangerous enterprises; their pretended attachment to a certain Imam of the house of Ali, &c. The Ismaelians, in the year 483, possessed themselves of Jebal, in the Persian Irak, under the conduct of Hasan Sabah; and that prince and his descendants enjoyed the same for 171 years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Holagu the Tartar." Whence it appears, that the *assassins* were not Mahometans, as Dr. Fuller suggests, but rather of a religion set up in opposition to Islam, or that introduced by Mahommed. Both authors, however, agree in their characters as to their being professed *bravoes*, or murderers; and it appears from Matthew Paris in several places, that the oriental name of this people, as a nation or community, was that of *assassins*. From the east it was brought to us, who were entirely unacquainted with it, till after the *æra* of the crusades; and it has been now, for an age or more, applied to persons of the like murderous disposition.

I am yours, &c.

1768, July.

T. Row.

XLIII. Account of the Collation and Revision of the English Bible,
by Dr. Blayney.

*To the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor, and the other Delegates of the
Clarendon Press.*

THE Editor of the two editions of the Bible lately printed at the Clarendon Press thinks it his duty, now that he has completed the whole in a course of between three and four years' close application, to make his report to the delegates of the manner in which that work has been executed; and hopes for their approbation.

In the first place, according to the instructions he received, the folio edition of 1611, that of 1701, published under the direction of Bishop Lloyd, and two Cambridge editions of a late date, one in quarto, the other in octavo, have been carefully collated, whereby many errors that were found in former editions have been corrected, and the text reformed to such a standard of purity, as, it is presumed, is not to be met with in any other edition hitherto extant.

The punctuation has been carefully attended to, not only with a view to preserve the true sense, but also to uniformity, as far as was possible.

Frequent recourse has been had to the Hebrew and Greek Originals; and, as on other occasions, so with a special regard to the words not expressed in the Original Language, but which our translators have thought fit to insert in Italics, in order to make out the sense after the English idiom, or to preserve the connection. And though Dr. Paris made large corrections in this particular, in an edition published at Cambridge, there still remained many necessary alterations, which escaped the Doctor's notice; in making which the editor chose not to rely on his own judgment singly, but submitted them all to the previous examination of a select committee and particularly of the Principal of Hertford College, and Mr. Professor Wheeler. A list of the above alterations was intended to have been given in to the Vice-Chancellor at this time, but the editor has not yet found time to make it completely out.

Considerable alterations have been made in the heads or contents prefixed to the chapters, as will appear on inspection; and though the editor is unwilling to enlarge upon the labour bestowed by himself in this particular, he cannot avoid taking notice of the peculiar obligations, which both himself and the public lie under to the Principal of Hertford College, Mr. Griffith of Pembroke College, Mr. Wheeler,

Poetry Professor, and the late Warden of New College, so long as he lived to bear a part in it; who with a prodigious expense of time, and inexpressible fatigue to themselves, judiciously corrected and improved the rude and imperfect draughts of the editor.

The running titles at the top of the columns in each page, how trifling a circumstance soever it may appear, required no small degree of thought and attention.

Many of the proper names being untranslated, whose etymology was necessary to be known, in order to a more perfect comprehension of the allusions in the text, the translation of them, under the inspection of the above-named committee, has been, for the benefit of the unlearned, supplied in the margin.

Some obvious and material errors in the chronology have been considered and rectified.

The marginal reference, even in Bishop Lloyd's Bible, had in many places suffered by the inaccuracy of the press; subsequent editions had copied those errata, and added many others of their own; so that it became absolutely necessary to turn to and compare the several passages; which has been done in every single instance, and by this precaution several false references brought to light, which would otherwise have passed unsuspected. It has been the care of the editor to rectify these, as far as he could, by critical conjecture, where the copies universally failed him, as they did in most of the errors discovered in Bishop Lloyd's edition. In some few instances he confesses himself to have been at a loss in finding out the true reference, though the corruption was manifest in the want of any the most distant resemblance between the passages compared together. Cases of this sort indeed did not often occur; so that a very small number only of the old references are, with the sanction of the committee, omitted, and their places more usefully supplied.

It had been suggested by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, that an improvement might be made in the present editions of the Bible, by taking in a number of additional references, of which many useful ones, as he supposed, might be furnished from other editions referred to by him, and particularly from a Scotch edition, of which the present Vice-Chancellor was kind enough to lend a copy. The references found in it, which were indeed very numerous, having been severally turned to and examined, such of them were selected as the editor judged most pertinent, together with others that occurred from his own reading and observa-

tion. In doing this he has endeavoured to keep clear of mere fanciful allusions, of which too many presented themselves in the before-named Scotch edition ; and to adhere as near as possible to the plan marked out in the former collection made by Bishop Lloyd ; pointing out such passages chiefly, where the same history or the same name was introduced, the same matter treated of, or sentiment expressed, or at least where parallels might fairly be drawn ; and sometimes where a similar use of a particular word or expression tended to illustrate the application of it, on another occasion. The number of references being thus augmented considerably, the collection upon the whole will, it is hoped, be regarded as useful in the light of a concordance, material as well as verbal, always at hand.

In this state the quarto copy was sent to press ; and the first proofs carefully collated with the copy, both text and margin ; after which the second proofs were again read, and generally speaking the third likewise ; not to mention the frequent revisions of proofs besides, which are common in correcting the press. This proved indeed a very tiresome and tedious task ; but was not more than was absolutely necessary in order to attain the degree of accuracy that was wished. A particular attention was required with respect to the figures belonging to the marginal references, where errors were continually creeping in after a manner that would appear highly astonishing to those, who have never been concerned in correcting multitudes of figures, as they came from the press.

When the quarto sheets were printed off, the forms were lengthened out in order to make up the folio edition ; in doing which the parts were so often jumbled together, and such confusion introduced by misplacing the references, and mistaking the chronology, that nothing else would suffice than a fresh collation of the whole with the quarto copy, and a repetition of almost the same trouble and care in the revisal, and in making up the running titles anew, as had been used before. But the editor thinks he has just reason to congratulate himself on the opportunity hereby given him of discovering and correcting some few trivial inaccuracies, which in spite of all his vigilance had escaped his notice in the quarto edition. So that the folio edition is rendered by this somewhat the more perfect of the two, and therefore more fit to be recommended for a standard copy.

The editor humbly hopes this account of his proceedings will not be unacceptable to the board ; and will think his time and pains not ill-bestowed, if he shall have succeeded

in his desire of giving satisfaction to those who honoured him with the employment, and of contributing in any wise to God's honour and the public utility.

Hertford College,

Oct. 25, 1769.

B. BLAYNEY

1769, Nov.

XLIV. Remarks on the Huetiana, and a Passage in Virgil.

SIR,

IN the Huetiana of Mons. Huet, the most learned bishop of Avranches, of which you are now publishing a translation, there is an emendation of a passage in Virgil which has met with general applause. Virgil in the first book of the *Æneid* resembles Venus to Harpalyce, the Amazon, whom he commends for her swiftness in riding, which he describes thus :

——volucremque fuga prævertitur Hebrum.

Æneid. I. 321.

But, says Mons. Huet, is there any wonder in Harpalyce's excelling in swiftness the current of a river which was no way famous for any extraordinary property in that respect, since there are few rivers, which a person on foot, in his ordinary way of walking, will not outgo? So he conjectures we should read,

—— volucremque fuga prævertitur Eurum :

And then cites two or three passages from the same author to shew that whenever he has a mind to give an hyperbolical description of nimbleness, either in horses or men, he usually compares it to the *wind*, and particularly to the *east wind*. *Huetiana*, p. 142.

The emendation was so fortunate as to please Ruæus, who accordingly produces it in his edition of Virgil, and observes that the letters in Hebrus and Eurus are much alike, and that Hebrus is a river of Thrace in Europe, whereas the Amazons lived in the Asiatic Thrace. *Ruæus ad locum*. Vigneuil Marville also espouses the emendation, and thinks it a most happy one, as the river Hebrus, according to all the geographers, had a remarkably slow stream. *Melanges de l'Histoire et de Literature*, iii. p. 267.

But now, with submission to these learned men, this applauded emendation appears to me to be destitute of a sufficient foundation.

First, it is against all the rules of criticism, to substitute a familiar word, such as *Eurus*, in the place of a proper name, or one less common.

Secondly, it was extremely natural for the poet, in speaking of the *Thressa Harpalyce*, to think of a Thracian river; and as to the distinction of the European and Asiatic Thrace, remarked by De la Rue, that is not much to be regarded, since in the poet's eye Harpalyce was a Thracian of some sort, and that was enough.

In short, if there be any unfitness, or impropriety, in the comparison, as I suppose there may, I would impute it to the author's inattention, or inaccuracy, from which no author whatsoever is totally exempt; and upon that footing, I am against making any alteration, even though the Hebrus be a very slow river; and the more so, because I do not find that any one MS. authorises us to do it.

Yours, &c.

1770, *April*.

T. Row.

XLV. On Translation.—Mickle's *Lusiad*.

MR. URBAN,

THE great advantages which the world receives from the labours of eminent and learned men, are not so generally acknowledged as they ought to be. In our pursuit of literary knowledge, we seldom stop to reflect on the means whereby we are enabled to attain it. The chronologer, the annalist, the dictionary maker, though men of infinite labour, and some genius, must not expect their reward in that sort of gratitude which contributes to their fame; nay, must be content to be considered as the drudges and pioneers of literature, to smooth the way for others. Nor does it fare much better with translators; in this case, the original author engrosses the whole applause. A man reads the translation with advantage and pleasure; but thinks the commonwealth of letters no more indebted to the person who introduced it into the language, than to the printer who printed, or to the bookseller who sells the book.

From whatever cause this neglect of translators has arisen;

whether from the general inferiority of translations to their originals, or from a mistaken notion, that a translator cannot be a good poet, (I mean here to speak only of poetry) it is a prejudice that has done much harm to literature, by preventing and discouraging those who are best able to turn their studies that way. How commonly does the world exclaim, when any translation is made by one who has had invention enough to compose an original piece, what pity it is that such a genius should submit to the drudgery of translation; forgetting that the genius of Pope thought it no submission to translate Homer, nor the much greater genius of Dryden to translate Virgil.

It has been said of translators, and it is, I think, pretty nearly the truth, that they should be able to do something like what they translate, *i. e.* should be almost as good original authors as those they translate; and if we duly consider their necessary qualifications, a nice judgment to distinguish and preserve all the beauties of their original; a capacity of giving to the manners their strong and lively marks; to the speeches their true character and spirit; to the sentiments, their full force and sublimity; to the descriptions, their natural and animated colours, besides the diction and harmony of verse, which are entirely their own; we shall perceive, that the great distance between the translator and the original will vanish, and be ready to own that translation is not the business of those who can only set a verse upon its feet, and tag together half a dozen couplets.

It is worthy of the attention of a translator to make his poem read like an original. Now this can never be attained by a literal translation; but the question is, what latitude shall be allowed to him? This, I think, depends upon the character of his author. In translating authors of so much judgment as Homer and Virgil, he cannot follow them too closely, if he preserves their fire and spirit. Their example will best teach him when to be plain, and when figurative and poetical; when to rise into the bold and sublime; when to be humble and unadorned, and when to pay a particular regard to that imitative harmony, in which they themselves so much excel. Yet even here, he must often correct the idioms which are become obsolete and uncouth; he must soften the speeches and the manners, which to this polite age would appear rude and coarse; and in this he can be guided only by his own judgment. But in poets of less eminence he may use greater liberties. He must exercise his taste to discover their defects, and his art to conceal

them. He must lend them spirit where they are dull, and correct that which is too ardent. He must labour to heighten their beauties, and, where they are wanting, he may venture to supply them. In short, I apprehend that translation will bid fairest for success, which has most intrinsic merit, and which reads most like an original.

I have been induced to make these remarks by the perusal of a translation lately published at Oxford by Mr. Mickle; who has already favoured the public with two or three original pieces. The translation I mean, is the first book of the *Lusiad*, a Portuguese Epic Poem, in ten books, written by Camoens. Its subject is the famous and useful discovery of the East Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, under the conduct of Vasco de Gama. The adventures of this voyage furnished the poet with real incidents, more beautiful and natural than fancy could have framed: and for his machinery he had recourse to the Pagan system.

This celebrated poem, though not equal to the first-rate Epics of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, may well hold a distinguished rank among the second; and it is with great pleasure that I behold a resolution taken of rendering it into English, by so able a writer as the author of the *Concubine*.

The first knowledge I had of this translation, was from an extract in your last Magazine, compared with the old translation of Fanshawe: the latter is indeed true to the sense of Camoens; but no more to be compared to Mr. Mickle's than a prose translation of the *Æneid* to Dryden's. If you will permit me to give an opinion, Mr. Mickle's translation promises well to stand in competition with any made in the English language. His characters are well preserved and strongly marked; his speeches have great force and spirit, his descriptions are masterly and sublime; his verse is written in a nervous and lofty diction, and in a fine harmony of numbers. I shall beg leave to produce a few instances as proofs of these observations.

The character of Mars is finely drawn; and as great and sublime as any description given of him in the first classics. It is introduced with the following noble simile:—

Thus when the storm with sudden gust invades
The ancient forest's deep and lofty shade,
The bursting whirlwinds tear their rapid course;
The shatter'd oaks crash, and with echoes hoarse
The mountains groan, while whirling on the blast
The thick'ning leaves a gloomy darkness cast:

Such was the tumult of the blest abodes,
When Mars, high-towering o'er the rival gods,
Stept forth: stern sparkles from his eye-balls glanc'd;
And now, before the throne of Jove advanc'd,
O'er his left shoulder his broad shield he throws,
And lifts his helm above his dreadful brows:
Bold and enrag'd he stands, and frowning round
Strikes with his spearstaff on the sounding ground.

The effect of this action is exceedingly noble; the last circumstance particularly is finely imagined:

Heav'n trembled, and the light turn'd pale —

The allusion to the fable of Phaeton, is highly poetical, and ends sublimely,

The bending rowers on their features bore,
The swarthy marks of Phaeton's fall of yore;
When flaming lightnings scorch'd the banks of Po,
And nations blacken'd in the dread o'erthrow.

After describing the first engagements with the Indians, the poet goes on thus:

Unnumber'd sea-fowl rising from the shore,
Beat round in whirls at every cannon's roar;
Where o'er the smoke the masts tall heads appear,
Hovering they scream, then dart with sudden fear;
On trembling wings far round and round they fly,
And fill with dismal clang their native sky.
Thus fled in rout confus'd the treacherous Moors.

The turning of one part of the description into a simile and illustration of the other, shews great address, and is a beauty of a new and singular kind, which till now had never a place in any poem.

I might quote many other beautiful passages in this translation; particularly the fine description of the Night, and that charming simile of the Pilgrim; but I omit them, that I may have room to say a few words of that part of versification, which is usually called sentimental harmony.

By sentimental harmony, I mean not only the sound of words, considered as rough, smooth, broad, soft, &c. but also the length and cadence of phrase, adapted to any sentiment. This I conceive to be as capable of being reduced to certain rules, as the science of music is; for sound is

equally the object of both. The cadence I consider as equivalent, both to the time, and to the rise and fall of the notes; and the rough, broad, soft sound of words, as expressive of the forte or piano of music. It is much to be desired, that a good treatise were composed on this subject, which would be a standard rule, not only for composition, but pronunciation. If the narrow limits of the voice in speech be mentioned as an objection, let it be remembered, that music does not enjoy a great variety of expression; and that the passions (of grief or joy for example) are rather to be expressed by the movement, than by the rising or sinking of the notes. But the variety of sound in speech, is not less than of notes in music. Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise *De Compositione Verborum*, says the voice in speaking may rise or sink two notes and a half from its pitch; each of which is capable of a division, even to the eighth part of a note, as may be demonstrated by algebra; which gives no less than forty different sounds. A difference of time too is constituted, both by the long and short vowels, and by every consonant that enters into a syllable, as the above-mentioned author has clearly proved; so that speech, both for sound and time, is equal in variety, though not in compass, to the notes of music.

Success in this sentimental harmony constitutes one great difference between a pleasing and a disagreeable writer. An harmonious composition disguises a multitude of faults. A nice ear then is as necessary to a fine writer, as to a good musician: it is the only rule whereby he can judge of the length, the cadence, and the sound of phrase, that is best adapted to express particular sentiments; and though it be not always required to make the sound imitate the sentiment, yet a writer without an ear will be continually in danger of making the sound counteract it, which is always to be avoided.

This imitation of the sentiment by the phrase, belongs to prose writers in common with poets; which is evident from hence, that poets in attempting it sometimes fall into prose, a licence not to be allowed, except in the drama. In the above-mentioned translation of the *Lusiad*, this kind of imitative harmony is often happily attained, as may be seen in the following instances:—

The bursting whirlwinds tear their rapid course,
The shatter'd oaks crash; and with echoes hoarse,
The mountains groan—P. 36.

The prows, their speed stopt, o'er the surges nod—P. 41.

The watchman's carol echoed from the prow,
Alone, at times, awakes the still repose—P. 44.
There wait; and sudden on the heedless foe
Rush, and destroy them ere they dread the blow.—P. 51.
A sudden storm she rais'd, loud howl'd the blast,
The yard-arms rattled, and each groaning mast
Bended beneath the weight.—P. 60.

I shall close my remarks upon this excellent translation, with a fine example of the other kind of imitative harmony, which is produced by a proper choice of words expressive of the subject by their sound. Arms and armour are more fully represented to the imagination by terms of a bold and sonorous tone: accordingly the poet in the following description has selected such words as are composed of open and broad vowels, joined with the roughest consonants. The description in itself is picturesque and masterly.

Straight as he spoke, the magazines displayed
Their glorious shew, where, tire on tire inlaid,
Appear'd of glittering steel the carabines,
There the plum'd helms, and pond'rous brigandines;
O'er the broad buckler's sculptur'd orbs emboss'd,
The crooked faulchions, dreadful blades, were crost;
Here clasping greaves and plaited mailquilts strong,
The long bows here, and rattling quivers hung,
And like a grove the burnish'd spears were seen,
With darts, and halberts double edg'd, between;
Here dread grenadoes and tremendous bombs,
With deaths ten thousand lurking in their wombs;
And far around of brown and dusky red,
The pointed piles of iron balls were spread.

1771, *Aug.*

D. Z.

XLVI. On the Mistakes of eminent Authors.

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE often thought, that if a collection were made of the *Mistakes of eminent Authors*, proceeding merely from forgetfulness or inattention, it would fill a volume much larger than that of Sir Thomas Brown upon *Vulgar Errors*. A. Gellius has, in his agreeable manner, given us several oversights of this kind, from Varro, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Virgil, and others: to which may be added, a similar one of Plautus in *Epidico*, A. 1. S. 1.

— *E. Ubi arma sunt Stratippochi?*

T. Pol illa ad hostes transfugerunt.

E. Armane?

T. Atque quidem cito.

E. Serione dicis hæc tu?

T. Serio inquam: hostes habent.

E. Edepol facinus improbum.

T. At jam ante alii fecerunt idem.

Erit illi illa res honori.

E. Qui?

T. Quia antea aliis fuit.

E. Mulciber, credo, arma fecit, quæ habuit Stratippocles.

Travolaverunt ad hostes. Tum ille prognatus Theti

Sine perdat: alia apportabunt ei Nerei filia.

For it is evident from the passage in Homer here alluded to, that the arms in which Patroclus was equipped for the field, and which Hector despoiled him of, were not made by Vulcan: it being in consequence of the *loss of them*, that Thetis procured from that God a new suit of armour for Achilles, of which we have so beautiful a description in the eighteenth book of the Iliad. It is not, however, clear, whether this mistake is to be imputed to Plautus himself, or was intended by that accurate painter of men and manners for a *stroke of nature* in the character of Epidicus; who, as a servant, might well be supposed to have but a superficial acquaintance with letters, and therefore, consistently enough to make such a blunder. But this plea cannot be urged for that oversight of Catullus, which has been remarked by Strada, and before him by Scaliger. I mean that palpable one in his poem on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; where he pronounces the ship that sailed upon the Argonautic expedition to be the first that ever put to sea.

Illa rudem cursu prima imbuat Amphitriten.

And a few lines lower clearly confutes himself, in the Episode of Ariadne, which constitutes the principal beauty of that poem:

Thesæa cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur

Indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores.

Another slip of the same nature, and on the same occasion too as this last, is one that we meet with in Valerius Flaccus. This author, towards the conclusion of his first book mentions *Ægyptian and Tyrian vessels* as existing at the same time with *that* in which the Argonauts were embarked; for thus he makes Neptune speak, when going to allay the storm which Boreas had raised:

— Veniant Phariæ Tyræque carinæ,
Permissumque putent—

ArgonAUT. I. v. 644.

Though in the opening of it he had celebrated the voyage undertaken by those heroes, as the first that ever was made; and of course the *fatidica ratis*—the vessel that carried them—as the first that had encountered the dangers of the ocean:

Prima deûm magnis canimus freta pervia nautis,
Fatidicamque ratem —

Wigan, Nov. 19.

Q.

1771, Nov.

XLVII. Martial and Statius on the Bath of Claudius Etruscus.

MR. URBAN,

THE critics* have remarked a strange disagreement between Martial and Statius, in the elegant descriptions which those authors have given of the Bath of Claudius Etruscus; but not one of them, as I can find, hath attempted to account for it. See the Epigram de Etrusci Thermis, Martial. lib. VI. 42; and the poem entitled Balneum Etrusci, Stat. Sylv. lib. I. 5. Martial mentions the Onyx, and that species of variegated marble, which, from the imaginary resemblance it bore to the spots of the serpent, was named Ophites, among the decorations of this Bath:

Siccos pinguis Onyx anhelat æstus,
Et flamma tenui calent Ophitæ:

Statius in express terms excludes them both.

Mæret Onyx longe, queriturque exclusus Ophites.

Now, there appears to me no other way of clearing up this difference between the two poets, but by attending to the different nature of their compositions. That of Statius was an *extempore* production, thrown off hastily, during the course of an entertainment, at Etruscus's table, as we find by his appeal to Etruscus himself: "Claudii Etrusci testimonium est, qui Balneolum a me suum intra moram cœnæ recepit." Præfat. ad Silvar. lib. I. And it is evident from other passages of the Prefatory Epistles to the Sylvæ, that these sudden excursions were perfectly familiar to the muse of Statius; which, whatever honour they might reflect

* See Casper. Gevartii Papinianas Lectiones, and Thomæ Stephens Comment. in Statii Sylvas; as also, Vincent Collesso ad Martial. Epigram. VI. 42.

on the poet's abilities, must necessarily subject him to frequent mistakes. Of this, the passage under consideration appears to be a remarkable instance: for I make no doubt, that Martial's little piece on the same subject, though it has infinitely less poetry, has abundantly more truth in it, not being like the other, an *extempore* effusion. For, that *this* poet had little or no turn for *such* sallies of genius, may fairly be presumed from the following distich, lib. XI. 91.

Lege nimis dura convivam scribere versus

Cogis, Stella; licet scribere, nempe malos :

Which evidently implies a consciousness, that he could not attempt them with success. This will appear still more probable if with some critics we suppose (what the subject seems to authorise) the following epigram to be pointed against Statius under the name of Sabellus :

Laudas Balnea versibus trecentis

Cœnantis bene Pontici, Sabelle.

Vis cœnare, Sabelle, non lavari. Martial. lib. IX. 20.

For then the ill-natured fling in the last line is easily explained by that mortifying truth, the *versibus trecentis*, in the first; and both together serve to intimate, in language more intelligible than a thousand words, the *envied superiority* of this same fictitious Sabellus in a talent, to which the epigram-writer was sensible that himself had not equal pretensions.

Wigan; Dec. 17.

Q.

1771, Dec.

XLVIII. Greek Inscription to be read backwards as well as forwards.

MR. URBAN,

HAVING seen a very extraordinary piece of music, composed by the famous Mr. William Bird, (lately revived, and published by Dr. Alcock,) which is so contrived, that all the *parts* may be sung backwards, as well as forwards, it put me in mind of the following curious Greek inscription, round the font, in the church at Sandbach, in Cheshire; the inserting of which, in your useful and entertaining Magazine, will oblige many of your constant readers, and in particular, your humble servant,

Litchfield Close, Dec. 1770.

J. A.

NIYON ANOMHMA MH MONAN OYIN.

Which may be thus translated;—

Wash the sin, not only the face.

1770, Suppl.

MR. URBAN,

THE inscription in Sandbach Church, in your Supplement, is, I believe, common on other fonts. I have seen it at Harlow, in Essex; and I think elsewhere. From the form of the font, I believe the conceit is invented since the Reformation, and not Monkish.

The common adage about which your correspondent inquires in your last Magazine,

Quem Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat,

is supposed to be in Phædrus; but I have it from pretty good authority that it is not in any classic author, but a saying taken up and used at random. D. H.

1771, *March.*

MR. URBAN,

THAT artificial Greek line, which is sometimes found written upon fonts, and will read the same, both backward and forward,

Νιφον ανουμηματα μη μοναν οψιν,

is a species of what I have seen called, on account of the difficulty of composing the like fantastical inscriptions, *Devil's Verses*. But the most extraordinary of those, and perhaps not possible to be imitated, is a verse I find in *Misson's Voyage to Italy*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 676. edit. 1714, 8vo.

Sacrum pingue dabo, non macrum sacrificabo.

This, at the Old Cloister of S. Marca Novella, at Florence, was applied to the sacrifices of Abel and Cain. The above is adapted to Abel, but read backward, and altering the punctuation, it will produce a Pentameter applicable to Cain, thus

Sacrificabo macrum, non dabo pingue sacrum.

This, as I said, appears to me to be inimitable, and one may challenge the whole world, I apprehend, to produce the like. In the first place, it is exceedingly difficult to form a Latin Hexameter, which, when read backward, will give us a Pentameter. It will be the more difficult to do this, and to exhibit at the same time a tolerable sense.

But what makes it most wonderful is, that in the third

place, the sense is well adapted to the different characters of the parties that are supposed to utter, one the Hexameter, and the other the Pentameter, viz. Abel and Cain.

Few persons, I believe, will chuse to spend their time in framing a like gimcrack upon any subject; but I am really of opinion a man might try a whole year, before he would be able to succeed as well as the monk that composed the above line.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

T. Row.

P.S. There is a further singularity in the verse above, which I was near omitting, and makes it still more arduous and remarkable. The Hexameter and Pentameter are both Leonine verses, the middle and the ending of each rhyming to one another.

1771, June.

XLIX. The Adage, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere*, &c. illustrated.

MR. URBAN,

THOUGH the trite adage, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere*, &c. concerning the author of which one of your correspondents inquires, cannot, I believe, be found verbatim in any ancient author, the sentiment it conveys appears to be commonly adopted both by the Greek and Latin writers. There is moreover a fragment of Publius Syrus, the mimic, as I find it quoted by Grævius in his *Lectiones Hesiodæ*, which greatly resembles the proverb in question, “*Fortuna quem vult perdere stultum facit.*” The same critic likewise quotes four lines from an anonymous Greek author which contain a similar sentiment.

Οταν γαρ οργη δαιμονων βλαπτει τινα,
Τατα το πρωτον εξαφαιρεται φρενων,
Τον νυν τον εσθλον εις δε την χειρω τρεπει
Γνωμην, εν ειδη μηδεν ων αμαρτανει.

The fragment of Publius Syrus seems less chargeable with impiety than the proverb as it is commonly used; the word *Fortuna* being less offensive than *Jupiter*, supposing it

to mean the Supreme Being, and the phrase *stultum facit* is softer than *dementat*: but the Greek evidently makes the gods the efficient causes of those transgressions for which they afterwards punish (βλαπτειν) poor mortals, for the word *τρέπει* is much too strong to imply a bare permission. Grævius indeed attempts to defend these and other passages of the same purport; but with how little reason, is evident from the passage in Hesiod which occasioned the foregoing quotations. Speaking of the two kinds of strife (εριδων) which prevail in the world, the poet observes that the first.

——πολεμον τε κακον και δηριν οφελλει
Σχετλη.στις τηνγε φιλει βροτοι, αλλ' υπ' αναγκης
Αθανατων βελησιν εριν τιμωσι βαρβαν.

Hes. Op. lin. 15.

Upon the whole we must not expect to find a consistent scheme of theology in the writings of the poets, whatever we may in those of the philosophers.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1771, June.

W. W.

MR. URBAN,

IN your volume for 1771, one of your constant readers desires some of your classical correspondents to inform him in what original Roman author the common adage,

Quem Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat,

is to be found. D. H. intimates, that it is not in any *classic* author, but a saying taken up and used at random. W. W. believes it cannot be found *verbatim* in any ancient author, though the Greek and Latin writers have, as he has shewn, commonly adopted the sentiment. We may safely assert, I presume, that it is not in any truly *classic* author, as the verb *demento* will not be found in any writer generally esteemed such. And may we not almost as safely pronounce, that, wherever this saying is to be found *verbatim*, it is only a translation of the following lines of Euripides, which occur in the *Incertæ Tragœdiæ*, as published by Barnes?

Οταν δε Δαιμων ανδρι πορσυνη κακα,
Τον νεν εβλαψε πρωτον. V. 436, 437.

In Barnes's note upon this passage, among other references, he adds,—“Tale quid Paterculus de Variana

clade." Paterculus's words are these: "Ita se res habet, ut plerumque deus, fortunam mutaturus, consilia corrumpat." Lib. ii. cap. 118.—It may be further remarked, that Duport, in his *Gnomologia Homerica*, at p. 282 note, absolutely translates these words of Euripides by the common adage which has given occasion to these hints from,

Your constant reader,

1773, Sept

L. L.

L. Critique on Virgil, and an Inquiry into the Propriety of some Passages in Silius Italicus.

MR. URBAN,

THE excellent author of the *Rambler* compares *the silence of Dido* at the sight of Æneas in the infernal shades, so elegantly described by Virgil in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, with that of Ajax in the thirteenth book of the *Odyssey*; and gives the preference to the latter, as being much more highly in character. He intimates, that the silence of the son of Telamon was undoubtedly founded in pride, and proceeded from a consciousness of his own defects in the arts of eloquence; justly concluding, that this sullen taciturnity had a much more striking effect, and conveyed a stronger idea of the most sovereign scorn and contempt, "than any words which so rude an orator could have found." To this, I think, may, with some appearance of reason, be added, what I do not remember to have seen remarked by any of the commentators, that this hero could not but recollect his having been foiled, before the assembly of the Grecian chiefs, in his contest for the arms of Achilles, merely by the superior address of his *wordy* antagonist; and would not this reflection naturally prevent him from having now recourse to the same weapon to serve the purposes of his resentment, in the use of which he had before been so signally defeated? If it were not refining too much, I would venture to assert, that Silius Italicus was impressed with the idea of this particular circumstance in the conduct of Ajax, when he introduced him into his own Elysium; and that the short, characteristic stroke, in which he represents Scipio as *admiring the stately step* of this hero,

Ajacisque gradum——
Miratur——

Sil. Ital. XIII. 801.

was borrowed from the figure he makes in the Elysium of Homer.

I shall not dispute with the Rambler the inferiority of the copy exhibited in Virgil to the original of his great master, the Mæonian bard; but must venture to differ from him, though not without great diffidence and distrust of my own opinion, concerning the reason on which this inferiority is principally founded. He seems to think, that the sight of Æneas, instead of chaining up the tongue of Dido, and striking her speechless, ought to have produced an effect the very reverse of this: it should have roused her into clamour, reproach, and denunciation. But, with submission to the judgment of this admirable writer, he seems, herein, to have totally mistaken the design of the poet. Virgil, I apprehend, by the behaviour of Dido on this occasion, intended to represent the *dignity* of her resentment, dropping the *woman* in her to pourtray the *queen*:

Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat;
Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.

Considered in this light, is not her fixed attitude and contemptuous silence, her turning away from Æneas, and keeping her eyes immoveably rivetted to the ground, infinitely more expressive and more eloquent than all the powers of language? A mere female, indeed, would, in her circumstances, have railed and reproached; it was beneath the queen of Carthage to do either. I am not, however, ignorant that a different interpretation has been given of this silence of hers, by an anonymous writer* of great taste and elegance, who imputes it to "*the consciousness of her guilt,*" and her consequent "*shame on finding herself in the presence of the most virtuous of all women, the Cumæan Sibyl.*" This sense of the passage, though supported with the utmost ingenuity and refinement, does not, I confess, appear to me so natural as that before mentioned; since it is neither clear how Dido could possibly have any knowledge of the

* See No. VIII. of an ingenious and entertaining collection of papers on subjects literary, critical, and humorous, entitled, *The Old Maid*, published in the year 1755, and reprinted in 1764.

Sibyl, nor is it in the least probable, that the sight of any other being in the universe could affect her so sensibly as that of Æneas, who had been the author of her greatest misfortunes, and the immediate occasion of her death.

I have sometimes been inclined to fancy, that the poet, in this passage, might possibly design to hint to us, in his delicate manner, the difference between the states of the *living* and the *dead*; to intimate, that, though the *latter* may retain all the passions and resentments* to which they were enslaved upon earth, yet, in this state of separate beings, those passions can only prey upon the spirits that entertain them; and so much the more keenly, as they are now deprived of the power of gratifying, or giving vent to them. The duration of the vicious appetites beyond the grave, and their attendance on the soul in the next life, is a favourite doctrine of Plato. As Virgil was a great admirer of this author, and has evidently adopted his principles of philosophy, his shadowing out this favourite tenet of his master, in the conduct of Dido, may, perhaps, be thought no improbable conjecture.

The affinity of the subject leads me to touch upon a point, which I have frequently canvassed in my own thoughts, but could never yet satisfactorily clear up. I mean the conduct of Silius Italicus in his thirteenth book; wherein, after conveying his hero into the Elysian fields, in imitation of his great original, he presents him with a view of several of the heroes who figured in the Trojan war:

Inde vero stupet Æacide, stupet Hectore magno;
Ajacisque gradum, venerandaque Nestoris ora
Miratur, geminos aspectans LÆTUS Atridas,
Jamque Ithacum, corde æquantem Peleïa facta:

representing him, we see, as gazing upon the others with *wonder* and *astonishment*, but seized with *joy*, which appears to me utterly misplaced, at the sight of the two royal Grecian brothers, the most determined enemies of the house of Priam, and consequently of Æneas, from whom the Romans, and Scipio, as one of them, affected to derive the glory of their origin. The poet would, surely, with much more propriety, have shewn his hero expressing his satisfaction on the appearance of a Trojan chief. And, indeed, he awakens

* Curæ non ipsa in morte relinquunt.

Æn. VI. 444.

all our attention, and prepares us for some such pleasing incidents a few lines higher, in that noble encomium upon Homer, which he puts into the mouth of the Sibyl; who, after expatiating to Scipio on the merits of the venerable bard, judiciously closes the whole with this fine stroke, admirably calculated to recal his thoughts (as it instantly recalls ours) to his Trojan ancestors—namely, that the muse of this divine poet *had likewise immortalized his mother-country, Troy*:

—Et VESTRAM tulit usque ad sidera TROJAM.

Now, I appeal to the judgment of the critical reader, whether these words, and the place they are found in, do not naturally make him expect to see the young Roman introduced to some of the heroes of the Dardan race? and whether he is not disappointed to find the poet slurring over the name of Hector with the same undistinguishing marks of cursory attention as that of Achilles,—stupet Æacide, stupet Hectore magno,—without suffering it to excite peculiar emotions of *pleasure* and *admiration* in the breast of Scipio; and still more so to behold these emotions excited in him by the appearance of Agamemnon and Menelaus, Nestor, and Ajax?

Æacisque gradum, venerandaque Nestoris ora
Miratur, geminos aspectans lætus Atridas.

If these may be deemed *improprieties*, and certainly they seem to be such, by what name shall we call *the total omission of Romulus and Æneas*?—The poet, in order, we may presume, to animate his hero, by great examples, to the pursuit of honest fame, selects the most conspicuous characters of antiquity to pass in review before him; and, to incite him, as a Roman, to direct that passion solely to the good of his country, to make that the ultimate object of his ambition, and thence to expect the truest and most durable renown, points out to him, by the Sibyl, a group of his immortal countrymen, who, devoting their labours and their lives to that noble end, had finished, in her service, the same career of glory that he was himself now going to enter upon. Is it not reasonable here to look for, do we not anxiously expect to find, at the head of this illustrious band of Romans, Æneas the father of that people, and Romulus the founder of their state? It is true, Lavinia and Hersilia,

the consorts of these great personages, are briefly announced by the Sibyl; the first, as being the happy instrument of uniting the Trojans and the Latins; the latter, as having effected a work no less salutary, by reconciling the Sabines to the Romans after their rape of the Sabine virgins. But, notwithstanding the grace of novelty which this introduction of *female characters* into the poet's Elysium may justly boast of, and the exquisite taste and delicacy with which some of them are touched (those of Lucretia and Virginia in particular), methinks his neglecting to bring upon the scene the two most distinguished *male worthies* of his country, must be considered as a capital error; especially since he could have found an employment for them, so excellently adapted to their situation and character; for would there not have been infinitely more propriety in ushering in Scipio to the acquaintance of Romulus or Æneas, and describing him as seeking *the path to true glory* at *their* mouth, rather than at that of Alexander the Great?—There was so striking a contrast between that monarch and the young Roman, in the vicious unbridled passions of the one, and the mild virtues, the amiable well-regulated affections of the other; and, at the same time, so happy a resemblance between the latter and Æneas in particular, in the distinguishing characteristics of each, *piety* and *valour*; that this consideration alone, one would think, might have determined the poet to send him with that inquiry to the Trojan, in preference of the Grecian, chief;

———Similique cupidine rerum

Pectora nostra calent, quæ te via scire superbum
Ad decus, et summas laudum perduxerit artes?

Add to this, that it is paying a poor compliment to *all* the heroes of Rome, and particularly to those two, their great *progenitor* and their *legislator*, to represent one of their descendants as tarnishing, in effect, the lustre of their achievements, and tearing, as it were, the laurels from their brows, by thus placing the *crown of glory* on the head of the king of Macedon:

———Quanto exsuperat tua gloria cunctos
Indubitata duces!

Nor is it more agreeable to poetical probability, than to the

model held out by Virgil*, or to the truth of nature, if we consider the indignant republican spirit, and stern haughtiness, that marked the Roman character, to represent one of the first and greatest of that name as holding converse with a foreigner and a king.

I will venture, yet further, to hazard an opinion, that the taunting air and insult, with which Scipio accosts Amilcar, is as unworthy of him as a man, as the obsequious courtly strain, in which he offers incense to Alexander, is unbecoming him as a Roman. It must, however, be confessed, that, if his address to Amilcar be a blemish, it is a beautiful one, and such as we would not willingly part with; since it gives the poet† an opportunity of displaying, to great advantage, the *terrible graces* which distinguish this fierce and imperious commander. Having learned, from the conversation, *that a general havoc and destruction marked the progress of Hannibal's arms in Italy*, the disdainful shade stalks majestically away, after uttering this malignant exultation :

———Quod si Laurentia vastat
Nunc igni regna, et Phrygiæ res vertere tentat;
O pietas! O sancta fides! O vera propago,
Atque utinam amissum reparet decus! inde citato
Celsus abit gressu, majorque recessit imago.

Another thing, which has always struck me as an *egregious oversight* in this author, is his daring to try his hand at a

* Æneas, indeed, as decorum required, addressed Dido; but no one else, except his friends and his countrymen, Anchises, Deiphobus, and Palinurus.

† It amazes one to observe the character which Scaliger gives of this author: "Silium expediamus, quem equidem postremum bonorum poetarum existimo; quin *ne poetam quidem*. Non nervos, non numeros, non spiritum habet. Adeo vero ab omni venere alienus est, ut nullus invenustior sit."—Poetic. lib. VI. cap. 6. And yet, notwithstanding the severity of this criticism, there certainly are many indisputable proofs of a fine genius, and an elegant taste in various parts of his poem: in those beautiful lines on the Power of Music, in the eleventh book—the Encomium on Ennius in the twelfth—that on Homer in the thirteenth—the strokes upon Virgil and Cicero in the eighth—but more particularly in the address of Pleasure and Virtue to Scipio in the beginning of the fifteenth book. The intelligent reader will, probably, think the judgment of that critic far from being infallible, who could be capable of* *preferring* Martial to Catullus, and of† *pronouncing* Fracastorius *the best poet after Virgil*. Very different is the opinion of a critic of *another sort and size*; from whose sentence, in these matters, there lies no appeal: "Silium Italicum, poetam meo quidem judicio *præstantem*, Ciceronis apprimè studiosum fuisse," &c.—Muret. Var. Lect. lib. II. cap. 14.

* Lib. III. cap. 125.

† Lib. VI. cap. 4.

sketch of Cæsar and Pompey, (which, however, has nothing new in it to recommend or to palliate the attempt) when the principal outlines of their character had been pencilled out in so masterly a manner by Virgil. And what renders this oversight still more extraordinary is, that the recent contest between Vitellius and Otho afforded the noblest character for *the poet's Elysium*, by *the death of the latter*; which we find making, afterwards, so exquisitely fine a figure even in the hands of *the historian*.

Wigan, April 24.

Q.

1772, May.

LI. Critique on Shakespeare.

MR. URBAN,

THIS line in Hamlet, Act III. Scene I.

“Or to *take arms* against a *sea of troubles*,”

has given great offence to the critics, on account of the harshness of the metaphor. Mr. Pope proposes to read *siege* instead of *sea*; and Bishop Warburton peremptorily pronounces, “Without question Shakespeare wrote

——Against *assail* of troubles.”

In defence of the text, I beg leave to observe, that there is a passage in the Prometheus Vincetus of Æschylus, the Athenian Shakespeare, from which one stroke of the imagery might seem to have been literally copied:

Δυσχέιμερον γε πελαγος αττης δυης.

V. 752.

The stormy *sea* of dire *calamity*:

and another, in which the figure is, certainly, as harsh as that—“To *take arms* against a *sea of troubles*:”

Θολεροι δε λογοι παιουσ' εικη
Στυγνης προς κυμασιν ατης.

V. 891.

My plaintive *words* in vain *confus'dly* beat
Against the *waves* of hateful *misery*.

I would not, however, be supposed to offer this *similarity of expression* as an argument, that Shakespeare was conversant in Æschylus; any more than I take the “resemblance,” which some critics have discovered, “between the leading ideas of Malvolio in the Twelfth Night, and those of Alnaschar in the Arabian Nights’ Entertainments,” to prove him acquainted with Arabic. All that is hereby intended is, to shew, from the example of a genius as bold and eccentric as his own, that the *harsh constructing* of a *metaphor*, or the *jumbling of different ones* in the same sentence, is not peculiar to Shakespeare, nor a sufficient reason to authorise an alteration of his text.

Wigan, Sept. 23.

Q.

1772, Sept.

MR. URBAN,

IN your Magazine for September, I produced a passage or two from Æschylus, to prove, that Shakespeare is not singular in the use of this metaphor, “*A sea of troubles*,” with which two of his commentators are so much offended as to propose each a different emendation. In support of the text, to the authority of the old Greek bard, may be added the suffrages of two modern poets. Baudius, in an elegant copy of Latin Iambics, written *in a fit of sickness*, and addressed *to his friends*, has the following beautiful passage, where we find an expression perfectly similar to that of Shakespeare. I shall make no apology for the length of the quotation, not doubting but every reader of taste will think one unnecessary.

“ Dulces amici, Baudius vobis abit
Lubens et ultro, patriamque cogitat,
Perfunctus hoc errore jam portum subit,
Sacroque morsu figere anchoram parat.
Vos, si quid in me dignum amari quod foret
Amâstis unquam, præter hoc iners onus,
Quod palpitât nunc, spiritu pauxillulo
Donante vires, et vetante adhuc mori,
Mox funus atque fumus ut decesserit
Animæ salillum, ventuli flabrum levis;
Ne, quæso, ne vos error in fraudem trahat
Fallace fuco humanitatis blandiens,
Ut his solutum corporis compagibus
Me funerali lugeatis nœnia,
Turpique planctu: quippe tum demum fruar
Vita, vocari vita quæ verò meret,

Non hæc mali taberna, curarum mare,
 Palæstra luctus, officina cladium,
 Fomes dolorum, mors (ut absolvam) mera,
 Quam morte nunc relinquo non ingratiis,
 Parere promptus imperatori Deo,
 Cui militat gens omnis hæc mortalium."

Dominici Baudii Epistol. Cent. I. Epist. x.

We meet with another instance of the *same metaphor*, in a curious *modern Greek song*, which the very ingenious M. de Guys has given us, in his *Sentimental Journey through Greece*, (vol. iii. p. 95.) as a proof, and certainly no bad one, that *the poetic fire of ancient Greece is not altogether extinguished*. I transcribe no more than is necessary for my purpose; the rest may be seen in the volume and page referred to.

Με δυσικιαις πολεμω βασανα ὡς το λεμο
 Ειμαι, και κεντινευω, και να χαθω κοντευω
 Στο ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΦΟΡΩΝ με επικινδυνον καιρον,
 Μ' ανεμης ολαθρις, σφοδρης εναλις.
 Με κυματα πολλων και μων, τεφανι αναγενασμωε.

"I struggle with all the misfortunes of nature, plunged into an abyss of misery. Wandering, floating on this OCEAN OF DISTRESS, my frail bark must soon be overwhelmed. Contrary impetuous winds raise the angry waves, which besiege me, and urge them on to my destruction. I pant for breath in the midst of a thick fog."

Wigan, Nov. 20.

Q.

1772, Nov.

LII. Critical Remarks on the Tragedies of Seneca.

MR. URBAN,

IN reading Seneca's Tragedies, I lately met with the following passage,

Nec Damæ trepidant Lupos:

Herc. Oet. v. 1057.

which I beg leave to present to your correspondent J. Z.

as the most decisive answer to the question proposed by him concerning this line in Juvenal :

Et motæ ad lunam trepidabis arundinis umbram.

It proves the propriety of the common reading beyond a doubt: it is a *case in point*, and more conclusive than a thousand arguments from *analogy*.*

I mention the Hercules Oetæus as a tragedy of Seneca's; though I am not ignorant of the controversy that has been moved by the critics about the authenticity of some of the pieces, which have been handed down to us under the name of that author. This tragedy, in particular, has been proscribed and reprobated in the severest manner by the elder Heinsius: "Hæc ad Hérculem in Oeta," says he, "quam qui Senecæ ascribunt, judicii sui integritatem non tuentur." And again, "Serino arguit longe post reliquas scriptam. Multa ἰδιωτικά, indigna Seneca utroque, et nihil minus quam Latina, occurrunt." Dan. Heinsii Animadvers. in Senecæ Tragœd.—Heinsianæ earum Editioni adjunct. pp. 550 and 577. Lipsius, however, has admitted it into the num-

* An excellent critic has this observation concerning the *analogy of language*; "A Latin writer would say, *In eo prælio multum† sanguinis factum est*, [*in that battle a great deal of blood was spilt*]; but if from thence any one should now infer that he might write, *In eo convivio multum vini factum est*, [*in that entertainment a great deal of wine was spilt*], he would proceed upon a very wrong supposition: unless he could give an instance of the expression." Markland's Remarks on the Epistles of Cicero to Brutus, &c. p. 85.

I have frequently heard Mr. Pope's Inscription on Shakespeare's Monument in Westminster Abbey censured, as though the last line were neither good Latin, nor in the true Epitaph style and taste:

Guilielmo Shakespeare,
Anno post mortem CXXIV,
Amor publicus posuit.

I therefore submit it to the critical reader, whether the following passage from Ovid will, or will not, serve to remove the *first* part of the objection, and *by analogy*, to establish the *phrase* at least of the Inscription:

Tempora sacrata mea sunt velata corona,
Publicus invito quam favor imposuit.

Ep. ex Ponto, lib. iv. Ep. xiv. v. 55.

† This expression seems borrowed from the Greek αἵμα δρᾶν, an instance of which we have in Euripides:

Πυλάδης, ὁ συνδρῶν αἷμα καὶ ματρὸς φόνον.

Orest. v. 406.

ber of those which he ascribes to *one* of the Senecas; “*Plerasque ex istis Annæi Senecæ esse fateor—sed Senecæ novioris:*” and his admission of it is approved by Pontanus. —[See J. Lipsii *Animadvers. in Tragœdias Senecæ*, and Jo. Isac. Pontani *de Tragœdiarum Auctoribus Prolegomenon*, annexed to the edition of Seneca’s *Tragedies*, published by Scriverius, *cum notis variorum*, Leyden, 1620] Rutgersius, too, seems to acknowledge it for Seneca’s, by quoting it, indifferently, with the *Hippolytus*, and the *Troades*, which are universally allowed to be of the hand of that author. (See Jani Rutgersii *Var. Lect. lib. VI. cap. 17.*)

Wigan, Oct. 23.

Q.

1772, Oct.

LIII. Critical Remarks on some passages in V. Paternulus and Petronius.

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE always suspected a *false reading* in a passage of V. Paternulus, near the end of the first book, where that elegant author displays so much judgment in tracing out the reasons *why the most eminent writers of Greece and Rome flourished, respectively, in or about the same æra*, and so much taste in ascertaining and distinguishing their several merits. The passage I mean is this: “*Nam, nisi aspera ac rudia repetas, et inventi laudanda nomine, in Accio circaque eum Romana tragœdia est; dulcesque Latini leporis facetiæ, per Cæcilium, Terentiumque, et Afranium, suppari ætate nituerunt.*” Vel *Patern. i. 17.*—Now, *leporis facetiæ* seems to be a tautology, unworthy the precision of this accurate writer; since *each* of these terms, I apprehend, *separately* denotes those* *delicate traits of wit, those exquisite strokes of pleasantry and humour*; in a word *all those*

* “*Jam ut ad lepores, sales, gratias, et venustates veniamus; certum est, fere omnes eas tolli a ridiculo, quemadmodum ab excessu tollitur virtus. Quare Terentio ac Menandro tribuunt lepores antiqui; sales vero Horatius Plauto concedit, verum inurbanos.*” *Dan. Heinsii Dissertat. Heinsianæ Terent. Comædiar. Editioni præfix. p. 22.*

“*Facetum quoque non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere.—Decoris hanc magis, et excultæ cujusdam elegantiae appellationem puto.*”

Quintil. Inst. Or. lib. vi. cap. 3.

graces of elegance and politeness of the most refined facetiousness and urbanity, so essential to the comic muse, which the historian meant to intimate had been at length transplanted into the Latin language, and, at one and the same period, nearly, shone out with distinguished lustre in those three Latin poets. Cicero, it is evident, frequently uses the words *lepos* and *facetiae** as synonymous expressions: "Veruntamen, ut dicis, Antoni, multum in causis persæpe *lepore* et *facetiis*, profici vidi." De Orat. ii. 54. Again, "Quis est igitur, qui non fateatur, hoc *lepore*, atque his *facetiis*, non minus refutatum esse Brutum," &c. Ibid. 55. And, more particularly, "Etenim, cum duo genera sint *facetiarum*, alterum æquabiliter in omni sermone fusum, alterum peracutum et breve." Ibid. 54. And, "Non enim fere quisquam reperietur, præter hunc [*Crassum*] in utroque genere *leporis* excellens, et illo, quod in perpetuitate sermonis, et hoc quod in celeritate atque dicto est." Ibid. We see here two distinct species of wit or pleasantry defined, which are denoted, indiscriminately, by the terms *facetiae* and *lepos*; so that these terms had clearly the same† signifi-

* THR. Quid est? GNA. Facete, lepide, laute, nihil supra.

Ter. Eunuch. Act. iii. Sc. 1. 37.

—————est enim *leporum*

Disertus pater, ac *facetiarum*.

Catull. ad Asinium, v. 8.

—————tuo *lepore*

Incensus, Licini, *facetiisque*.

Id. ad Licinium, v. 7.

† We meet, indeed, with *lepos facetiarum* in two passages of Cicero; "Libanus etiam ex omni genere urbanitatis *facetiarum* quidam *lepos*, quo, tanquam sale, perspergatur omnis oratio." De Orator. 1. 34. And, again, in his description of the oratorical talents of Crassus: "Erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate junctus *facetiarum*, et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis, *lepos*." In Brut. 143. In both these places I take *facetiae* to be the genus, and *lepos* the species; understanding Cicero to intend, in the first passage, a certain grace, an air of politeness and pleasantry, which ought to animate the whole composition: and, in the latter, a certain delicacy of wit, an elegance of raillery and ridicule, becoming the dignity of the orator, totally different from the coarse jests, the low illiberal humour of the droll and the buffoon. For that *lepos* signifies sometimes a gracefulness, a gentility, a politeness of manner, is evident likewise from Cicero: "Festivitate igitur et *facetiis*, inquam, C. Julius, L. F. et superioribus, et æqualibus suis omnibus præstitit, oratorque fuit minime ille quidem vehemens, sed nemo unquam urbanitate, nemo *lepore*, nemo suavitate conditor." In Brut. 177. "Vox, gestus, et omnis actio sine *lepore*." Ibid. 238. "Hujus actio non satis commendabat orationem; in hac enim satis erat copiae, in illa autem *leporis* parum." Ib. 240. "Omnisque vitæ *lepos*, et summa hilaritas, laborumque requies." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. 7. These instances determine the meaning of *lepos facetiarum*; they

tion. Instead of *leporis*, therefore, in the passage under consideration, I think we ought to read *sermonis*; and am confirmed in this opinion, by observing, that *this* is the reading of that learned and judicious critic Rutgersius, in his quotation of the passage on a different occasion: “Quare Vel-leius Paterculus libro primo Cæcilio ac Terentio, non Plau-tum, non Nævium, non Licinium, aut quæ etiam cogitare putidam sit, Attilium comitem dat, sed Afranium; *dulces-que Latini Sermonis Facetiæ*, inquit, *per Cæciliū, Teren-tiumque, et Afranium, suppari ætate floruerunt.*” Rutgers. Var. Lect. lib. iv. cap. 19.

The authority of Aulus Gellius, who, in a critique on Plautus, remarks from Varro, *that poet's fucetia sermonis*, renders this reading still more probable: “*Quasdam etiam alias [comœdias] probavit [Varro] adductus stylo atque Face-tia Sermonis Plauto congruentis.*” A. Gell. Noct. Att. iii. 3.

There is an erroneous reading, too, I think, in the follow-ing fine passage of Petronius's Poem on the Civil War, which, according to my judgment, spoils half the beauty of it.

At contra, sedes Erebi, qua rupta dehiscit,
Emergit late Ditis chorus, horrida Erinny's,
Et Bellona minax, facibusque armata Megæra:
Letumque, Insidiæque, et lurida mortis imago.

V. 253—6.

The last line is evidently a *parody* of two passages in Virgil;

— circumque atræ Formidinis ora,
Iræque, Insidiæque, dei comitatus, aguntur.

Æneid. xii. 335.

— crudelis ubique
Luctus, ubique Pavor, et plurima Mortis imago.

Ibid. ii. 369.

But the introduction of “the ghastly image of death” [*lurida mortis imago*], in the end of the line, after “Death himself” [*letumque*] had been introduced in the beginning of it, is so idle, unmeaning, a repetition, so tame, and so

prove, too, the propriety of *this construction* of those words, even though we had not found them in *this form of construction* in Cæcero. But, I think, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to give an instance of the inverse construction of them,—*leporis facetiæ*,—except that suspected reading in Paterculus.

totally unpoetical, as the fire and force of Petronius, with the great *critical* abilities he possessed, could never suffer him to admit. I, therefore, make not the least doubt, that, when he adopted one of Virgil's shadowy beings [*insidiæque*], he adopted also the other [*iræque*], deeming the *latter* equally fit to figure in *the court of Pluto*, as his great master had in *the retinue of Mars*. Hence, without hesitation, I would read,

Iræque, Insidiæque, et lurida Mortis imago.

Wigan, Nov. 24.
1772, Nov.

Q.

LIV. Inquiry as to the real Author of the book *De Imitatione Christi*.

MR. URBAN,

IT has long been matter of controversy, by whom the celebrated treatise "*De Imitatione Christi*," usually attributed to Thomas à Kempis, was written. As the book, for its intrinsic merit, has been printed more than forty times* in the original Latin, and near sixty times been translated into modern languages, our pains may not be wholly misemployed in inquiring who was really the author of it.

Some of the first editions, it is said, as those of Brescia, in 1485, and Venice, in 1501, ascribe the work to St. Bernard. In an inventory of books, belonging to Monseigneur Comte d'Angouleme, and of Perigord, dated the first of January, 1467, there is mention of *the Imitation of St. Bernard, in a very old letter*; a proof it was at that time the general opinion, that this justly admired treatise came from the pen of that venerable personage; but no proof seems to be advanced for this supposition. St. Bernard was imagined to be the only man capable of such a work at that time. The name of St. Francis, which may be found in the *Imitation*, B. III. c. xxxviii. § 8, is alone sufficient to refute this error.

But the most probable conjecture, at this distance of time, is, that Jean Gersen, abbot of Verceil, was the true author, and that the book was composed between the years 1231

* See Hart's *Amaranth*. p 22. Worthington's *Kempis*, p. 3. preface.

and 1240. M. Velart, the late Paris editor of a Latin and French edition, has favoured the public with a dissertation on this subject, in which he appears satisfactorily to prove, that the work was extant before the thirteenth century. As an evidence of this fact, it clearly appears, that the author belonged to the abbey of Verceil, from a copy of *the Imitation*, preserved in the monastery of St. Catharine of the Congregation of Mount Cassin.

It appears from two passages in *the Imitation*, that the author was a monk, “*Vita boni monachi crux est, et dux paradisi*, L. III. c. xlii. § 5; and, in L. III. c. viii. § 51, he positively acquaints us with this circumstance, when he places himself in the number of those who had forsaken all terrestrial delights, to immure themselves in a cloister, “*quibus datum est, ut, omnibus abdicatis, seculo renuncient, et monasticam vitam assumant.*” Now Thomas à Kempis was not a monk, but a regular canon, of the order of St. Augustine. The Benedictines always esteem it their greatest happiness to be ranked among the monks; on the other hand, the regular canons think it no such blessing.

Another circumstance which may be adduced, is, that, about the period before mentioned, the abbot of Verceil was celebrated as a great master of the spiritual life, and intimately acquainted with the pious St. Francis of Assise, who died in 1226, and the master of St. Anthony of Padua, who died in 1231.

M. Velart assures us, that he has in his possession an ancient French translation of the book, reprinted at Anvers, by Martin Lempereur, about the year 1530. It appears to be the work of a priest of the diocese of Metz, who rendered it into that language from a translation in the German tongue, not being able after much pains, to procure the Latin original. In a short preface, prefixed to the treatise, he tells us, that this *version in German* was made by the pious Ludolph of Saxony, who, according to Mencken, author of the Dictionary, flourished in 1330. Thus it plainly appears, that a translation of the *Imitation* was extant even previous to the death of Kempis.

In the library of the King, at Paris, among different MSS. of the *Imitation*, there is one to be seen, which M. Melot, who died in 1761, and who was a connoisseur in ancient writings, used to say, appeared to be written about the year 1300. At the end, in the same hand-writing, is the tract *De Tribus Tabernaculis*; but this MS. appears not to be the original, from the faults which occur in it. We are, therefore,

perhaps, not mistaken, in placing the composition about the year 1230.

A MS. examined in 1671, the eighth in the possession of the abbey of St. Benoit, in Podolirone, begins thus, "Incipit liber Johannis primus de contemptu mundi." The famous MS. of Arone, which has engaged the two learned Jesuits, Possevin and Bellarmin, to adopt the opinion that Gersen was the author, informs us of his office in these words: "Incipiunt capitula libri primi abbatis Johannis Gersen." The name and office of the author is even repeated five times. From a copy printed at Venice, in 1501, we learn of what abbey he was principal. This copy belonged to the abbey of St. Catharine of the congregation of Mount Cassin. At the end are these words: "Johannis Gersen, Cancellarii Parisiensis, de contemptu mundi, libri quatuor finiunt." This note seems to be added by the printer: but a person better acquainted with the matter, remarks in the same copy, "Hunc librum non compilavit Johannes Gersen sed D. Johannes, abbas Vercellensis, ut habetur usque hodie manuscriptus in eadem abbazia." D. Constantin Cajetan saw this remark in 1615, and quotes it.

In a letter written by M. Du Cange to M. Dumont, Counsellor at Amiens, dated 17th August, 1671, he mentions, "That he had been at the conference relating to Thomas à Kempis, and, after the MS. he had seen, it might be asserted, without hazard of veracity, that the work was written by Gersen." This great man, says M. Velart, was so well convinced of this matter, that he always cited it as the work of the truly pious Jean Gersen. The above passage is given from the original letter, which M. Daubigny communicated.

Many other pieces have appeared under the name of Kempis, all which are so manifestly inferior to the Imitation, that a person who has read them once will have little inclination to repeat the perusal. It appears, by the testimony of a person who resided thirty-four years in the monastery of Mount St. Agnes, that he transcribed the whole Bible: "Scrpsit bibliam nostram totaliter, et alios multos libros, pro domo et pro pretio. Insuper composuit varios tractatulos, ad ædificationem juvenum." He uses *scrpsit* for the works which he transcribed, and *composuit* for those which he composed.

Thomas à Kempis lived, when a youth, at Daventry, in the house of Florentius, where, with other young men, for a subsistence, as printing was then either unknown, or in its infant state, he employed much of his time in transcripts of this kind. It is no improbable supposition, that,

from the frequent copies of the Imitation found in his writing, he became at last to be esteemed the original composer. To detract as little as possible from his praise, though not the author of the Imitation, his piety and zeal must endear his name to the latest times, and, by his indefatigable pains, he has contributed greatly to spread a book of genuine piety. He died at an advanced period of life*, exempt from those corporeal infirmities to which aged persons are subject.

Sebastian Castalio, the learned editor of the bible so justly celebrated, who died in 1563, gave an edition of the Imitation in elegant Latin, which has been several times reprinted both in our own and foreign nations. It was formerly a book often put into the hands of our youth at Cambridge, when religious treatises were more in fashion than at present in both universities.

The Imitation of Christ early attracted the notice of our countrymen. A translation of the three books, which, in the design of the writer, appears to comprehend the whole work, was published by a clergyman named William Atkinson, prior to the reign of Henry VIII. but he omitted many passages, and in others made considerable variations from the literal sense. The fourth book, which treats of the sacrament in a manner peculiar to the Romish church, was first rendered into English by the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII. a lady less distinguished for her high rank, than for those amiable qualities which are an honour to the female sex, and whose beneficence and humility deserve general imitation. This fourth book was printed with the translation of Atkinson, just mentioned, and, if we mistake not, the name of Gersen is in the title page.

I met, by accident, lately, with a copy of the Imitation, printed at London in the black letter, before the year 1546, intitled, "A boke newly translated out of Latyn into Englishe, called the Followenge of Christe." The introduction begins thus: "Hereafter followethe a boke callyd, in Latyn, Imitatio Christi, that is to saye in Englyshe, The Followenge of Christe; wherein be containyd foure lytell boke: which boke, as some men afferme, was fyrst made and compyled in Latyn, by the famous clerke, Mayster Johan

* Payne's Kempis, preface. He was in the ninety-second year of his age when he died, and yet his eyes were not dim, as was said of Moses. Dr. Worthington's preface.

Gersen, Chancellour of Paris." But the name of the Chancellor of Paris was Gerson, not Gersen, and he died in 1429, long after the abbot of Verceil.

I am acquainted with a gentleman, who has, in his collection, a book of prayers, composed by Catharine Parr, Queen to King Henry VIII. and printed in the black letter, in the year 1545, the greater part of which is a translation of some select passages of the Imitation, with little alteration; but there is no reference either to the name of the author, or even the title of the book. The reader is referred to Strype, for a catalogue of the works of that truly pious and amiable princess.

The same friend is also possessed of a good translation of this book by Edward Hake, printed in the black letter, in 1568, and dedicated to Thomas Duke of Norfolk. The translator has printed only three books, which he justly supposed to contain the whole of that excellent work, and to which, without naming any author, he has given the following title, "The Imitation or Following of Christ, and the Contemning of worldly Vanities; whereunto, as springing out of the same roote, we have adjoined another very pretie Treatise, intituled, The perpetual Rejoice of the Godly even in this Lyfe."

In the reign of Elizabeth, M. Rogers attempted another version from the Latin, and dedicated it to the Lord Chancellor Bromley; but this work is different from the literal sense, though no small degree of time and assiduity was employed in the translation. It is also evident, that he followed the Latin version of Castalio, and not the original.

There have been several translations since, of different merit. Dr. Worthington, whose memory will ever be dear to his countrymen, from a high opinion of this spiritual treatise, did not think his labour ill employed in a translation. It was first printed in 1652, and again in 1677, and is to be valued for its simplicity and faithfulness.

Dean Stanhope, whose *Christian's Pattern* has procured a favourable reception in the world, as a translation of this treatise, may rather be considered as a loose paraphrast, than an exact translator. His work is more varied from the original than that by Rogers, already spoken of.

The last translation is by J. Payne, first printed in octavo, 1763, and since in duodecimo, which is equally distinguished for its fidelity and elegance, and is certainly the best that has yet appeared.

The merit of the Imitation is so generally acknowledged, as to make any encomium in this place altogether unneces-

sary. Two eminent authors of the French nation have left to posterity their opinions of the book in the following words: viz. "The Imitation is the finest book which has proceeded from the pen of any man since the days of the evangelists:" M. de Fontenelle's *Life of the Great Corneille*. "The Imitation of Jesus Christ is one of the most excellent treatises which was ever composed. Happy the person, who, not content to admire its beauties, earnestly endeavours to reduce its precepts to practice!" M. Leibnitz's *Letters*, p. 77.

I am, &c.

1772, Dec.

C.

LV. Superiority of Shakespeare's Description of Night.

MR. URBAN,

OF all the topics on which the poets, ancient and modern, have exercised their imagination, and vied, as it were, with each other, for the victory, there is no one that has been more generally or more successfully attempted, than the Description of Night. Homer and Apollonius among the Greek, Virgil and Statius among the Roman writers, seem to have put forth all their strength on this favourite argument; and have each found their several admirers, who have weighed and adjusted their respective pretensions with a scrupulous exactness. Great as their merits are, I shall, with the leave of the critics, venture to assert, that they have all been eclipsed, in this one article, by the poets of our own nation. The copy of Homer's Night piece has received some delicate touches, and exquisite heightenings, from the pencil of Pope, which render it superior to the original; and Shakespeare's dreadful description in *Macbeth* (not to mention the pleasingly picturesque one of Milton) infinitely excels all that have preceded it, as being an assemblage of the most striking images, perhaps, that nature itself can afford, or poetic fancy can form.

Macbeth solus.

Now o'er one half the world
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse
The curtain'd sleep; now witchcraft celebrates
Pale Hecate's offerings; and wither'd murder

Alarm'd by his centinel, the wolf,
Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,
With Tarquin's ravishing strides, tow'rd his design
Moves like a ghost. ———

This is truly a *night of horror*. We see here one half the globe buried in the profoundest sleep, except the three great enemies of mankind, *lust, witchcraft, and murder*; and them too waking only to perpetrate their deeds of darkness. We shudder whilst we read. We look round, affrighted and alarmed, expecting every moment to see the assassin's dagger lifted against us. The additional horror, which Mr. Garrick's inimitably-awful pronunciation breathed over this soliloquy, the last time I heard him repeat it, threw me into this train of thinking, and occasioned me, at my return home, to turn to the several descriptions before alluded to, and to some other celebrated ones of our English authors. Among these, none, I think, approaches so near the merit of Shakespeare's, as that of Marston, his contemporary, in the opening of his tragedy called *Antonio's Revenge*. As this play is not easily to be met with, I shall transcribe the passage.

Piero *solus*.

'Tis yet dead night: yet all the earth is clutcht
In the dull, leaden hand of snoring sleep.
No breath disturbs the quiet of the air,
No spirit moves upon the breast of earth,
Save howling dogs, night crows, and screeching owls;
Save meagre ghosts, Piero, and black thoughts.

My edition of this play is of the year 1602: it cannot, therefore, be doubted but Shakespeare had read it, before he wrote his *Macbeth*; probably had played a part in it, since we learn from Langbaine [Catalogue of Dramatic Authors, article MARSTON], that all Marston's pieces had been performed, and "approved by the audience at Blackfriars." It is, however, very observable, that, although this description consists of so many just and natural images, and is worked up in such strength and propriety of diction, with some of the most expressive and characteristic epithets in the English language; yet, such is the originality of Shakespeare's genius, that he has not copied even a single image, (for the ghost is only introduced by way of simile), nor adopted more than one epithet in his own description, and that too has been considerably improved in his hands, by the

manner in which he has applied it. Marston confines his ideas to the *night* alone, and this, by a bold metaphor, he represents as being actually *dead*: Shakespeare, with a much bolder flight of fancy, extends the epithet to *nature* herself; but, at the same time, with the strictest attention to propriety and truth, qualifies its force by the verb he makes use of; *nature* seems *dead*. Dryden, struck with the beauty and forcibleness of this image, has transplanted it into that well-known description in the *Conquest of Mexico*:

All things are hush'd, as *nature's* self lay *dead*:

Where it constitutes the principal figure in the piece, being equally just and noble in itself, and rising still higher in estimation, from a comparison with the many *concetti*, and affected prettinesses that appear in the succeeding lines:

The mountains seem to *nod their drowsy head*;
The little birds in *dreams their songs repeat*,
And *sleeping* flow'rs beneath the night-dews *sweat*.

There is another description of the Night, which has been much and deservedly admired; I mean that of Lee, in his *Theodosius*: but had one* of the critics who has noticed it, known how greatly it is indebted to Marston's for its principal beauties, he would not, probably, have passed over the old bard, without allowing him his due proportion of praise:

'Tis night, *dead night*, and weary nature lies
So fast, as if she never were to rise;
No breath of wind now whispers thro' the trees,
No noise at land, nor murmur in the seas:
Lean wolves forget to *howl* at night's pale noon,
No wakeful dogs bark at the silent moon,
Nor bay the *ghosts* that glide with horror by,
To view the caverns where their bodies lie;
The *ravens* perch, and no presages give,
Nor to the windows of the dying cleave;
The *owls* forget to scream, no midnight sound
Calls drowsy echo from the hollow ground;
In vaults the walking fires extinguish'd lie,
The stars, heav'n's *centry*, wink, and seem to die.

* Trapp, in his notes on the fourth book of the *Æneid*.

Almost every image is evidently taken from Marston; that of the *stars*, which are quaintly termed *heaven's centry*, is from a passage of the old poet, no less quaint, in the same scene with his *Description of Night*:

—— You horrid scouts
That *centinel* swart night ——

It is, however, somewhat surprising, that Lee, when he was copying, should omit the finest image in the whole—*black thoughts*, especially as it would so admirably have suited the temper and situation of Varanes's mind, at the time the poet puts these beautiful lines into his mouth, which is just before he destroys himself.

Caerhays, near Tregony, in
Cornwall, Jan. 27.
1774, *Jan.*

Q.

MR. URBAN,

AS one of your correspondents has given Shakespeare's celebrated *Description of Night*, and asserted that it is not equalled by any other poet, I am desirous, by means of your Magazine, to contrast it with a passage from my favourite poet Dr. Young, and let the impartial public determine which has the preference.

MACBETH *solus*.

—— “ Now o'er one half the world
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse
The curtain'd sleep; now witchcraft celebrates
Pale Hecate's offerings; and wither'd murder
Alarm'd by his centinel, the wolf,
Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,
With Tarquin's ravishing strides, tow'rd his design
Moves like a ghost.” *Shakespeare.*

DR. YOUNG.

“ Night, sable goddess! from her ebon throne,
In rayless majesty now stretches forth
Her leaden sceptre o'er a slumb'ring world.
Silence how dead! and darkness how profound!
Nor eye nor list'ning ear an object finds;
Creation sleeps:—'tis as the general pulse
Of life stood still, and nature made a pause,
An awful pause! prophetic of her end.” *Young.*

Do not imagine I mean to detract from the fame of the immortal Shakespeare, by the above parallel; I hold him in too much reverence to be capable of the thought: but, in my opinion, the beauty of the passage cited from Macbeth consists principally in the happy allusion of the *imagery* to the *circumstances* of Macbeth. Dr. Young's Description of Night is beautiful in the highest degree, considered as a *general* description; and is equally so in *whatever* circumstance you suppose the writer to be. The images are strong, bold, and natural, whether they are put into the mouth of a *murderer*, a *traveller*, or a *philosopher*.—It is not so with the celebrated speech of Macbeth; the chief beauty *there* arises from the peculiar circumstances of the speaker at the time. All the images, though sublime, are horrible, and suited to the mind of a man bent on a horrid design. It is unnatural, considered *merely* as a Description of Night; but considered as the speech of a *murderer*, just about to commit the horrid deed, it is in the highest degree just and natural: and, in this light the poet undoubtedly meant it should be considered. I may therefore repeat, without injustice to Shakespeare, that Dr. Young's Description of Night, considered merely as such, is much more natural and sublime than Shakespeare's; and is not, I believe, to be equalled by any poet, ancient or modern.

I am, your constant reader,

1774, Feb.

H. L.

LVI. Objections to Pope's Translation of Homer's Description of Night.

MR. URBAN,

YOUR correspondent Q. says, "the copy of Homer's Night-piece has received some delicate touches, and exquisite heightenings, from the pencil of Pope, which render it superior to the original." I happen to be of a very different opinion, and flatter myself most of your readers will be so too, when they compare them both, and consider what I shall offer in arrest of judgment.

Original.

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν ἑρᾷ αἶθρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνῃ
φαίνεται ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἐπλετο κινέμος αἰθέρος,

Εκ τ' ἐφάνον πασαι σκοπιαί, καὶ πρῶτον ἀχροί,
 Καὶ ναπαὶ· ὕρανοθεν δ' ὑπερραγὴ ἀσπετος αἶθρῃ,
 Πάντα δὲ τ' εἶδεται ἀστρά· γέγηφε δὲ τε φρενα πομπήν.

Mr. Pope's translation, or rather paraphrase, is as follows:

“As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
 O'er heav'n's clear azure spreads her silver light,
 When not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene,
 And not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
 Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
 And stars unnumber'd deck the shadowy pole,
 O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
 And tip with silver every mountain's head;
 Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies;
 The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
 Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light.”

Here, we see, five Greek lines are paraphrastically expanded into twelve English, one line in Homer being thought sufficient to furnish more verses in the landscape, or night-piece, given us by his translator, than are to be found in the whole simile in the original. But this is not all:—It is not only a paraphrase, but, through all the harmony of the versification, and brilliancy of the colouring, it is easy to discover some glaring blemishes, for which there is no warrant in the Greek. In particular, the splendor of the sun at noon-day could not be described more strongly than this moonlight night is in the line printed in Italics; and in the two last lines, by the introduction of *swains* in the plural number, the most striking allusion in the simile is lost: the *shepherd*, in the original, being Hector himself, the *pastor populorum*, as the stars are the thousand fires kindled by the Trojans, while they watched their tents. Thus, in *Paradise Lost*, Book IV. verse 983.

——“The careful ploughman doubting stands,
 Lest on the threshing-floor his hopeful sheaves
 Prove chaff”——

is the angel Gabriel, who is solicitous for the safety of Adam and Eve.

To shew that all the same ideas may be comprised in nearly the same number of lines in English, accept the

following, for which, and also for some of the above remarks, I am indebted to the late reverend and ingenious Mr. Say.

As in still air, when round the queen of night
The stars appear, in cloudless glory bright,
The rock remote, the hills and vales are seen,
And heaven diffuses an immense serene ;
Thus, while each star with rival lustre glows,
The shepherd's heart with conscious joy o'erflows.

Yours, &c.

1774, Feb.

CRITO.

LVII. Various Descriptions of Night compared.

MR. URBAN,

HAVING in your Magazine for Jan. produced several Descriptions of Night from the works of our English poets, and ventured to oppose them to the most celebrated ones of the Ancients ; I ought to have added to the number that of Shakespeare in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, not only on account of its poetic excellence, but as it was, probably, the original which furnished Marston with so many just and natural images :

The iron tongue of midnight hath told twelve——
Now the hungry lion roars,
And the wolf howls the moon,
Whilst the heavy ploughman snores,
All with weary task foredone.
Now the wasted brands do glow,
Whilst the scritch-owl, scritch'ing loud,
Puts the wretch that lies in woe
In remembrance of a shroud.
Now it is the time of Night
That the graves, all gaping wide,
Every one lets forth his sprite,
In the church-way paths to glide :

And we fairies that do run
By the triple Hecat's team
From the presence of the sun,
Following darkness like a dream,
Now are frolic ———

Midsum. N. Dr.* Act V. Sc. 1, 2.

Shakespeare, it is evident, had no need to dress up his description in *Macbeth* with imagery culled from *Antonio's Revenge*, since his own glowing imagination had already, we see, in a prior piece, *bodied forth the forms of things unknown*, and adapted them to the occasion, *giving to airy nothings a local habitation and a name*.

The two last lines of Dryden's description in the *Conquest of Mexico* deserved likewise to have been noticed :

Even *lust* and *envy* sleep ; but love denies
Rest to my soul, and slumber to my eyes.

The personification of *lust* and *envy*, and the investing of these abstract terms with the attributes of the *living*—the representing of them as *laid to sleep*—shews a much nobler flight of fancy than the personification of *silence* in *Apolonius*,

——Σιγη δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὀφρῦν,

or that of *sleep* in Statius,

—— totis ubi somnus inertior alis
Defluit in terras, mutumque amplectitur orbem :

(though this latter image of *sleep brooding with wings expanded over the silent globe*, is, it must be confessed, highly animated, and truly poetical). The universal stillness and composure of the night are also much more finely and forcibly pourtrayed in this short *moral* sketch of Dryden, which exhibits the two most wakeful and tormenting passions incident to human nature as “lulled in pleasing slumber,” than by the several images drawn from the *natural world*—the silence of the *birds*, the *beasts*, the *trees*, the *rivers*, and the *sea*,—that are crowded together in Statius's description,

* This play was first printed (according to Mr. Capell's accurate table of the editions of Shakespeare's plays) in 1600 ; *Antonio's Revenge* in 1602.

—— tacet omne pecus, volucresque, feræque,
 * Et simulant fessos curvata cacumina somnos :
 Nec trucibus fluviis idem sonus, occidit horror
 * Æquoris, et terris maria acclinata quiescunt,
 and in the similar, though greatly superior one of Virgil,
 Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
 Corpora per terras, sylvæque, et sæva quiêrant
 Æquora : cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu :
 Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes, pictæque volucres,
 Quæque lacus late liquidos, quæque aspera dumis
 Rura tenent, somno positæ sub nocte silenti
 Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.

But this is not all. There is another exquisite beauty in those lines of Dryden, arising from the contrast between the restlessness, the sober certainty of waking misery in the breast of Pizarro (who utters them), and the profound repose and tranquillity of all nature around :

—— But *love* denies
 † *Rest* to my soul, and *slumber* to my eyes.

This is a beauty of the same kind with that which the critics have admired in the *Medea* of Apollonius,

Ἀλλὰ μὲν ἔ Μηδείαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λαβὲν ὕπνος ;

and that copy of it in the *Dido* of Virgil.

At non infelix animi Phœnissa ; neque unquam
 Solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
 Accipit ——

The Italian poets, such of them at least as I have seen, have struck out nothing on the subject of *night*, worthy to rank with the models of these great masters. Even Tasso himself has given us only a *translation* (an elegant one indeed) from Virgil in the following beautiful lines :

* Dryden seems to have taken the hint of two quaint fanciful lines from the second and fourth verses in this description of Statius :

The mountains seem to nod their drowsy head.

Conquest of Mexico.

—— The waves more faintly roar,
 And roll themselves asleep upon the shore.

Rival Ladies.

† Dryden is, however, indebted for this line to one of the Latin poets ;

Nulla quies animo, nullus sopor ; ardua amanti.

Val. Flac. VII. 244. de Medea.

Era la notte all' hor, ch' alto riposo
 Han l'onde, e i venti, e pareva muto il mondo :
 Gli animali lassi, e quei, che'l mar ondoso,
 O de' liquidi laghi alberga il fondo,
 E chi si giace in tana, o in mandra ascoso,
 E i pinti augelli ne l'oblio profondo,
 Sotto il silentio de' secreti horrori
 Sopian gli affanni, e raddolciano i cuori.

The critical reader will perceive, on comparing this description with that in the fourth book of the *Æneid*, before given, that not only the images, but the expressions too, are almost literally copied from thence, with some few heightenings from the hand of the translator. Thus “the waves and the winds,” *l'onde e i venti*, are coupled together with, perhaps, greater propriety in the copy, than *silvæque et æquora*, “the woods and the seas,” are in the original; though it must at the same time be acknowledged, that the *sæva quierant* of the Mantuan poet is infinitely more animated and characteristic than the *han alto riposo* of the Tuscan one. Tasso has omitted the pleasing picturesque image of the “stars” in their courses [*medio volvuntur sidera lapsu*], happily introduced by the judicious Virgil, to heighten and set off the serenity that prevailed throughout the *heavens* as well as the *earth*—that is, throughout *all nature*—on that particular night he is describing, in order to contrast it the more strongly, as the occasion required, with the *discomposure of Dido*. And he has supplied its place with the vague idea of a general stillness of the globe,—*e pareva muto il mondo*—borrowed, as it should seem, from the *mutumque amplectitur orbem* of Statius; but falls much below his original, both in the prosaic turn of the expression [*parea*], and in the application of the image itself; which being a *general, uncharacteristic* one, thrust in amidst a group of *particular, appropriated* images—the silence of the *waves*, the *winds*, &c.—loses in Tasso’s hands all the graces it had in the hands of Statius, where it is *properly* adapted to the conciseness of the description, and the **general* turn of the *rest* of the imagery. The seventh line of Tasso, *sotto il silentio de’ secreti horrori*, is, indeed, a fine improvement upon Virgil’s *somno positæ sub nocte silenti*; it is, however, indebted for its principal beauty to an happy union of the ideas suggested by

* Scandebat roseo medii fastigia cæli
 Luna jugo, totis ubi somnus inertior alis
 Defluit in terras, mutumque amplectitur orbem.

Achilleid. I. 619.

another passage of this author, that breathes all the enthusiasm of pure, genuine poetry—*simul ipsa silentia terrent*.

I shall not enter into the comparative merit of Homer's *night-piece*, and the copy of it in Pope's translation. The curious reader may find this subject handled with great ingenuity by two eminent writers; Cooper in his elegant Letters concerning taste, and Melmoth in the Letters of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne.

Caerhaes, near Tregony, in Cornwall,
Feb. 18.

Q.

1774, March.

LVIII. Critical Illustrations of Obsolete Passages in Shakespeare.

MR. URBAN,

THERE is a passage or two in the tragedy of Hamlet, which I have never yet seen explained to my satisfaction by any commentator. In Act I. Sc. 2, the King thus addresses himself to the Prince, his nephew:

But now, my cousin Hamlet, and my son;
to which Hamlet (*aside*) replies,

A little more than *kin*, and less than *kind*.

Bishop Warburton, without the least necessity, considers *kind*, as an adjective; having first, without the least authority, proposed an alteration in the text, as stiff* as it is arbitrary:

But now, my cousin Hamlet, *kind* my son.

* When I say this, I do not forget the frequent use of the epithet *good* before the pronoun possessive in this author; as "*good* my Lord," "*good* my Liege," "*good* my Sovereign," "*good* my Mother," &c. &c.—but this use of the addition *good* seems to have been a *familiar mode of expression* in the days of Shakespeare, as may, I think, be collected from a passage in Henry VI. 3d Part, Act. v. Sc. 6.

Gloc. Good day, my Lord! what, at your book so hard?

King. Ay, my good Lord: my Lord, I should say rather;
'Tis sin to flatter, *good* was little better:

Good Gloster, and good devil, were alike,

And both preposterous; therefore, not *good* Lord.

And even in this inverted order of construction, "*good* my Lord," since it so

Dr. Johnson remarks, that *kind* is the Teutonic word for *child*; "Hamlet therefore," says he, "answers with propriety to the titles of *cousin* and *son*, which the king had given him, that he was somewhat *more* than *cousin*, and *less* than *son*." The explanation is plausible; but does not, I think, come up to the full meaning of the text, frittering away all the smartness and sting of the reply.

I have always supposed, with Sir Thomas Hanmer, that "this was a proverbial expression," of very ancient date; and have lately been confirmed in this opinion by the following passage in *Gorboduc*, a tragedy written by Lord Buckhurst, and first printed about two years after Shakespeare was born, 1565. Videna, *Gorboduc's* Queen, Act iv. Sc. 1. thus expresses her resentment against her younger son Porrex, the murderer of Ferrex, her elder son:

Thou, Porrex, thou this damned deed has wrought,
Thou, Porrex, thou shalt dearly bye the same;
Traitor to *kin and kind*, to sire and me,
To thine own flesh, and traitor to thyself.

A passage also in Shakespeare, *Richard II.* Act iv. Sc. 1.

Peace shall go sleep with Turks and Infidels,
And, in this seat of peace, tumultuous wars
Shall *kin with kin*, and *kind with kind* confound—

serves to prove the truth of Hanmer's observation, that this was indeed "a proverbial expression;" though I cannot agree with him, when he adds, "known in former times for a relation so confused and blended, that it was hard to define it." For nothing can be more certain, than that the word *kind*, which occasions all the difficulty, in the passages above produced, uniformly signifies *nature*, as may still farther appear, by comparing them with the quotations*

frequently occurs in Shakespeare in that order. This may have led the learned Bishop into a mistake, and induced him to believe, that the epithet *kind* might be used with the same freedom, "*kind my son*;" whereas, though we do frequently meet with *that* epithet in our author (*Henry V.* Act. iv. Sc. 3. *Henry VI.* 1st Part, Act iii. Sc. 1, and elsewhere), yet it is always in the proper and regular form of construction; nor can there be a single instance produced, in all his works, where it is placed *before* the pronoun possessive.

* ————— A father? no:

In *kind* a father, not in kindliness.

Gorboduc, Act i. Sc. 1.

And eke that they, whom *nature* hath prepared
In time to take my place in princely seat,

below, from the same authors, where that word will evidently admit of no other sense. Hence we easily discover Hamlet's meaning to be, that the relation which he bore to the King, his uncle, was something *more* than that of *cousin*, or nephew—[*a little more than kin*]*—*the King having now married his mother; but though he was become his *son* by this marriage, yet was his new relationship still inferior to that of *nature*, still an *unnatural* one,—[*and less than kind*] the marriage being founded in two unnatural crimes, *murder* and *incest*; hereby sarcastically glancing at the enormity of the king's villany, who, by such a complication of vice, was against nature, entitled to call him his *son*, as well as his nephew, or *cousin*.

The other passage is in Act i. Sc. 3, where the Ghost, describing the unprepared state in which he was hurried by

May not be thought for their unworthy life,
And for their lawless swerving out of *kind*,
Worthy to lose what law and *kind* them gave.

Ibid. Sc. 2.

Only I mean to shew by certain rules,
Which *kind* hath graft within the mind of man,
That nature hath her order and her course.

Ibid.

Ferrex, my Lord, your elder son, perhaps,
Whom *kind* and custom give a rightful hope
To be your heir, and to succeed your reign,
Shall think, &c.

Ibid.

This "*kind and custom*," and the "*law and kind*," in the passage before quoted, are afterwards explained by *law and nature*.

Ferrex. I marvel much what reason led the King,
My father, thus, without all my desert,
To reve me half the kingdom, which by course
Of *law and nature* should remain to me.

Ibid. Act ii. Sc. 1.

But if you would consider the true cause—
Why birds, and beasts, from quality and *kind*,—
Why all these things change, from their ordinance,
Their natures, and pre-formed faculties,
To monstrous quality ———

Jul. Cæsar, Act i. Sc. 3.

The forest walks are wide and spacious;
And many unfrequented plots there are,
Fitted by *kind* for rape and villany.

Tit. Andronic. Act ii. Sc. 1.

You must think this, look you, that the worm will do his *kind*.

Ant. Cleop. Act v. Sc. 2.

his brother to the grave, uses the term *unanneal'd*. The line, in Mr. Capell's edition, runs thus:

Unhousel'd, unanointed*, *unanneal'd*.

This word has been variously written, and variously interpreted:—*unanel'd*—importing, according to Pope, “no knell rung”—“*unknell'd*,”—as it were, or “*unknoll'd*.”—*unaneal'd*—signifying, in Theobald's opinion, “*unanointed*,” not having the *extreme unction*; from the Teutonic preposition *an*, and *ele*, i. e. *oil*:—and *unanneal'd* “that is, (says Hanmer) *unprepared*,” because to *anneal* metals is to *prepare* them in manufacture:—Perhaps, after all, the proper reading may be *unannul'd*, from *annulus* [*a ring*], the obvious signification of which is, *without a ring on the finger*. Dr. Ducarel, in a curious work published a few years ago, entitled “*Anglo-Norman Antiquities considered*,” &c. shews it to have been the general practice to bury our ancient kings with *rings* upon their fingers; and mentions particularly the will of Richard II. who directs that he would be buried in this manner, *according to royal custom*. This custom might, probably, prevail in Denmark, as it did in this kingdom; and, if so, will serve to explain this passage, which has been given up by Dr. Johnson, with some others of the critics, and has proved a puzzle to all.

Caerhaes, in Cornwall, Oct. 18.

1774, *Oct.*

MR. URBAN,

YOU will much oblige some of your northern readers by inserting in your collection the following remarks on a difficult passage in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Scene III. Act I. Folio Edit. Hemings and Condell, 1685.

“Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,
“*Unhouzzled, disappointed, unanel'd*.”

The word *unanel'd* has perplexed all the commentators:

* Dr. Johnson reads *disappointed*, in the sense of *unprepared*; but it is not probable that the poet should use so *general* a term, when he is specifying the particular kinds of preparation the King wanted when sent to the grave, viz. the *hoste*,—“*unhousel'd*”—*confession* and *absolution*—“*no reckoning made*,” &c.—The idea of his *general unpreparedness* had been fully expressed in the line preceding,

“Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin.”

Pope explains it, "having no knell rung."—Hanmer supposes it to signify 'unprepared,' because to *anneal* metals is to prepare them in manufacture. Theobald, indeed, guessed at the true meaning, but his explication has been invalidated by the learned Dr. Johnson, who, after having given the notes of his predecessors, observes, on his own authority, "that it is a difficult passage, and that he had not by his inquiry been able to satisfy himself." The subsequent extract from a very scarce and curious copy of Fabian's Chronicle, printed by Pynsen, 1516, seems to remove every possibility of doubt concerning the true signification of the words *unhousel'd* and *unanel'd*. The historian, speaking of Pope Innocent having laid the whole kingdom of England under an interdict, has these words; "Of the maner of this Enterdiccion of this Lande have I seen dyverse opynyons, as some ther be that saye that the Lande was enterdyted thorowly and the Churchis and Housys of Relygyon closyd, that no where was used Masse, nor dyvyne servyce, by whiche reason none of the VII Sacraments all this terme shulde be mynystred or occupyed, nor Chylde *crystened*, nor Man *confessyd*, nor *married*; but it was not so strayght. For there were dyverse placys in Englonde, which were occupyed with dyvyne Servyce all that season by Lycence purchaced than or before, also Chyldren were crystenyd thoroughe all the Lande and Men *houselyd* and *anelyd*." Fol. 14. Septima Pars Johannis.

The Anglo-Saxon noun-substantives *husel* (the eucharist) and *ele* (oil) are plainly the roots of these last quoted compound adjectives. For the meaning of the affix *an* to the last, I quote Spelman's Gloss. in loco. "Quin et dictionibus (an) adjungitur, siquidem vel *majoris notationis* gratia, vel ad *singulare aliquid*, vel *unicum* demonstrandum." Hence *an-elyd* should seem to signify *oiled* or *anointed* by way of eminence, *i. e.* having received extreme unction. For the confirmation of the sense given here there is the strongest internal evidence in the passage. The historian is speaking of the VII Sacraments, and he expressly names five of them, viz. baptism, marriage, auricular confession, the eucharist, and *extreme unction*.

The publishing a discovery made by accident cannot justly subject me to the imputation of vanity, yet I cannot help thinking it rather a *lucky hit* to have stumbled upon a passage that leads to the certain investigation of that which has perplexed the most eminent commentators on the text of Shakespeare. The antiquary is desired to consult the edition of Fabian, printed by Pynsen, 1516, because there are

others, and I remember to have seen one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a continuation to the end of Queen Mary, London, 1559, in which the language is much modernised. If I mistake not, our poet has been very conversant in this Chronicle. It is an old Gothic pile, out of the ruins of which he seems to have picked many of his foundation-stones.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
1776, March.

J. B.

MR. URBAN,

ABOUT twelve months ago I communicated to the public, by your means, my thoughts on that passage in Hamlet,

“Unhousel’d, unanointed, unanel’d;”

in which “unanointed” seemed to me a gloss or explanation of “unaneled,” and therefore could hardly be allowed to stand, and accordingly I proposed substituting “unappointed,” not fitted at all points by prayers, confession, and absolution. I ventured to suppose that “unaneled” was right, as it came near the original word *ελαϊον*; but did not then know, that it was the reading of all the old editions. See Supplement to Mr. Steevens’s edition. Nor should I have troubled you again on the same subject, had I not said there, that I remember to have read much the same words employed in recording the exit of some of our sovereigns: I should have said, noblemen.

The passage that I had in my mind occurs in a magnificent folio, containing an account of the several families that have possessed Drayton, &c. in Northamptonshire, now the estate of Lord George Germaine, by — Halsted. As the book is extremely scarce,* I shall transcribe a curious passage from it.

P. 218. Deposition of Thomas Merbury, Esq. about the Earl of Mordaunt’s death.

“Which will the said Mordaunte (a serjeant at law) then

* It is sometimes said, that only five copies of it were taken off; which cannot be true; as there are two copies at Drayton, one in the Duke of Devonshire’s possession, one in the Harleian Library, one not long ago in a circulating library in London, and one among Bishop Moore’s books in the Royal Library, Cambridge, marked R. 1. 4. and most probably more that I have not heard of.

red to the seid Erle, when he was *anoyled*, and in extreme peynes of doth, soe that the seid Erle neither herde, nor understode, what the seid Mordaunt red."

I suppose the will was read while he was in anoyling, and in extreme, &c. so that he could not attend. This happened 24th March, 1498.

P. 221. Deposition of Thomas Cade, Clarke, Parson of Buckworth.

"The said Erle prayed and required this deponent that he would housel him—and he answer'd, my lord, I have made ev'ry thing in full redyness to go to mass, if ye be so pleased, and, when mass is done, to housel you. Ney, seid the same Erle, I pray let me not tarry so long." He then confesses him, absolves him, says mass in the chamber, and gives him the sacrament. Afterwards went and attended on high mass performed by the Earl's chaplain in the chapel. Was called in an hurry to my lord by a servant, found my lord *all alone*, lighted a fise (pese 284. perh. peice) of wax that was hallowed, and said these words following, "In manus tuas, Domine, &c. and in the same moment the said Erle departed to God out of this present lyfe; and thus this deponent left the deed body of the said Erle, whose soul God absolve."

P. 222. Deposition of James Walbef. "The seid Erle was howsell'd by the hands of the said Sir Thomas Cade."

It is remarkable that the priest says nothing of extreme unction, or will read at that time, and other witnesses present; and though he says he found and left my lord all alone, yet a servant swears that he staid with him to his death. This servant might be the person that called the priest; and might come in with him, and stay unnoticed.

In Leland's Collect. &c. 4. 309. last edition, "the said corpse (of H. VII.) assolled, saying this collect, Absolvimus," &c:

We have therefore here at least two words that may stand instead of "unanointed," viz. unabsolved, unassoiled; the first, I think, rather too prosaic, and the other in sound too like what "unaneled" means: I should, therefore, still prefer "unappointed," if a good authority for the use of it could be produced;* I mean, in the sense of *properly fitted out for a journey to the other world*. In Lambard's

* In the folio edition in the Editor's possession, the line is printed thus:

"Unhouzzled, disappointed, unaneled."

Topographical Dictionary, we have, p. 227, *Ryd princely appointed*. And as to “unaneled” for *unanoiled*, it is remarkable that *absolve* is written *assoll*, *assoil*, and *asseiled*. Leland’s Itin. 1745, iv. 1664, &c. and Lambard’s Top. Dict. p. 384.

1776, *April*.

LIX. The Latin Adage, *Incidis in Scyllam, &c.* whence taken.

MR. URBAN,

THE following transcript from Dr. Jortin’s Life of Erasmus, vol. ii. p. 151, will fully account for a Latin adage very frequently quoted; but, I believe, not commonly attributed to its right author. It will, I doubt not, be acceptable to many of your curious readers; and the insertion of it in your next Magazine, will also oblige,

Your constant reader,

Nov. 22.

ERASMOPHILOS.

“Galeottus Martius of Narni, who died A.D. 1476, hath first discovered that this verse,

Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim,

was of Philippus Gualterus in his *Alexandreis*. ‘Hoc carmen,’ says he, in his book *De Doctrina Promiscua*, cap. 28. ‘est Gualteri Galli de gestis Alexandri, et non vagum proverbium, ut quidem non omnino indocti meminerunt.’—Paquier, in his *Recherches*, L. iii. c. 29. hath since made the same remark. This Phillippe Gaultier (called de Chatillon, though born at Lisle in Flanders) lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. We have from him, amongst other works, his poem entitled *Alexandreis*, in ten books, and not in nine, as says J. G. Vossius, *De Poetis Latinis*, p. 74. The verse cited above is in L. v. 301, where the Poet addressing himself to Darius, who flying from Alexander fell into the hands of Bessus, says;

Quo tendis inertem,

Rex periture, fugam? Nescis, heu perditæ, nescis

Quem fugias: hostes incurris, dum fugis hostem.

Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

1774, *Nov.*

Menagiana, T. iii. 130.”

LX. Names retained when their origin is disused.

MR. URBAN,

WE have a species of words in our language, that is, certain names of things, which, being originally derived and borrowed from customs and practices, now disused, carry with them an air of impropriety, and, for the same reason, their etymology is, in many cases, very greatly obscured. To explain my meaning by an example—the word *minster*, in Saxon, *minstre*, from the Latin *monasterium*, we apply very generally to our cathedral or collegiate churches, as when we say *York-minster*, or *Southwell-minster*; and yet these churches are at present very far from having any thing of the nature of *monasteries* in them. But the words of Mr. Thoresby, the famous Leeds antiquary, are so pertinent to the subject, that I shall here transcribe them, as sufficient for the purpose of making a proper preamble to the following list or catalogue.

“Reason tells us,” says this gentleman, “that, before the use of metals was found out, the *Aborigines* in each country would make use of stones, flints, shells, bones, &c. formed, in the best manner they could, to the various uses they designed them; and it is usual for such instruments or utensils gratefully to retain, even in different languages, the memory of the matter they were first made of, as *cochleare*, a *spoon*, (tho’ of *metal*) because *cockle-shells* were first used for that purpose. So *candle-stick*, or *staff* (for it is *candle stak* in the Saxon monuments); so likewise *hooks* (Amos iv. 2.) in the original, is *thorns*, with which they used to pierce fish, before they had the skill of applying iron to that use. And, to give but one instance more, the sharp knives (Josh. v. 2.) used in circumcision, are, by our Saxon ancestors, (who received their very names from the weapon called *sex*, or *seax*, *culter*, *gladius*) styled *stenene sex*, (Mr. Thwaites’s Sax. Hept.) which in the original is *knives of flint*, which is more agreeable both to those parts of the world, where there was but little iron, and to that operation, wherein the Jewish Doctors say that sharp flints or stones were used*.”

All I shall add to these learned and judicious observations,

* Mr. Thoresby, in Leland’s *Itinerary*, vol. iv. p. 7. See also his *Museum*, p. 566, where the same is repeated.

is, that the *horn* was anciently used for a drinking vessel, as indeed it still is in many country places, and retained the name of a *horn*, though made of richer materials; whence Athenæus, from Pindar, says, ἐξ αργυρέων κερατῶν πινόμεναι, *drinking out of silver horns**; and that, to the list which is intended to follow, many names of places in England might be annexed, which are formed from the religious houses that once there subsisted, but are now no more: as Monks-Horton, Monks-Risborough, &c. Warminster, Westminster, &c. Abbots-Langley, Abbots-Bromley, &c. Many towns are also denominated from saints, with whom we have at this day no concern, as St. Alban's, St. Edmund's Bury, St. Neot's, St. Ive's, &c. and again, that some saints, in great esteem anciently, no doubt, are, at this time, so rarely heard of, and so little known, that it is very difficult sometimes to investigate them.—I now go on to the list.

The BARK.

By this word, in the north of England, is meant the candle-box, which hangs in the common room, for the purpose of receiving the ends, or pieces of candles. The reason of the name is, that, at first, it was only a piece of bark nailed up against the wall, as sometimes one sees it now at this day; but, in other houses, it still retains the name, though it be made of better materials, of brass or tin.

BORSHOLDER.

In the ancient police of this kingdom, established, as supposed, by King Ælfred, the counties were divided into hundreds and tithings, so that every man lived in some tithing. And “that,” says Mr. Lambarde, the famous Kentish antiquary, “which in the West Country, was at that time, and yet is, called a *tithing*, is, in Kent, termed a *borow*, of the Saxon word *borh*, which signifyeth a *pledge*, or a *suretye*; and the chief of these pledges, which the *western men* [and we may add the northern men] call a *tithingman*, they of Kent name a *borsholder*, of the Saxon words *borhes ealder*, that is to say, the most ancient, or elder, of the *pledges*†.” The *borsholder* answers in some

* Athenæus, Lib. ii.

† Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, p. 27.

respects to the petty constable, and the name is still continued in Kent, though King Ælfred's establishment is now grown obsolete.

A BROOM.

This was formerly made of the shrub of that name, but is now applied to implements of the same use, though made of birchen twigs, or hog's bristles.

Napier's or *Neper's* BONES.

These are an instrument, invented by J. Napier, Baron of Merchiston, in Scotland, for the purpose of expediting the multiplication and division of large numbers; and they keep the name of *bones*, though they are usually made of box; the first set, no doubt, as made by his Lordship, were of bone.

BAKE-STONE.

The bake-stone used in the north for baking of oat-cakes was at first of stone; and thence took its name. It is now sometimes made of sow-metal, but nevertheless is still called a bake-stone; though it must be acknowledged, that, stones are now more commonly used for the purpose.

BONFIRE.

This is so called according to Mr. Bagford, in his letter to T. Hearne, (Leland's Collection, I. p. LXXVI.) because it was originally made of bones. See also Bourne, *Antiq. Vulg.* p. 215. and T. Hearne's *Præf. ad Gul. Neubrig. Hist.* p. LXXII. However, there appears to me to be some doubt about the occasion of this name, since Stow says, (*Survey of London*, p. 307. edit. 1754.) speaking of bonfires in the streets, and the tables there set out with sweet bread and good drink. "These were called bonfires, as well of good amity amongst neighbours, that, being before at controversy, were there by the labour of others reconciled, and made of bitter enemies loving friends; as also for the virtue that a great fire hath, to purge the infection of the air." He intimates in the same page, that these fires were usually made of wood. Let the reader judge; but I must observe, that, if bones were formerly used as the fuel, they are now universally left off, though the name remains.

CANDLESTICK.

This was once also called *candlestaff*; and it is certain, that, before metals and better materials were used, nothing but a stick was employed. I have seen a stick slit at one end for the purpose of holding the candle, as also three nails stuck in a stick for the same use: and we still call this utensil a candlestick, though it may be made of silver, brass, glass, &c.

CHRIST-CROSS-ROW.

The *alphabet* is commonly so called, though now it is often printed without a cross being prefixed, as formerly.

CARD, or SEAMAN'S CARD.

This means the mariner's compass, the points being delineated on a card anciently, whatever they are now, and so it is called a card still.

HORN, and FRENCH HORN.

At first, horns were used both for blowing and drinking, and the name continued, though both the drinking-horn and the blowing-horn were made of better substances, ivory, silver, brass, &c.

AN IRON, or SMOOTHING-IRON.

These were made at first of hammered iron, but now are generally made of sow-metal, but are still called irons.

KERCHIEF, and HANDKERCHIEF.

The kerchief, as the French word *couverchef* imports, was originally worn on the head, but now, though it keeps the name, it is commonly worn about the neck or in the pocket, and so there is an impropriety in terming it an *handkerchief*.

LEAF.

This answers to the Latin *folium*, which was applied to books, because the ancients wrote on the leaves of trees or plants. The Latin *liber* in like manner took its name from the *bark* on which they wrote. We, though we write on paper, still keep calling the constituent parts of books, *leaves*.

POT.

A pot is properly, and in strictness of speech, a vessel made of earth; hence a potter and a pottery; but it is now applied to utensils for boiling, though they are composed of very different materials, as brass or iron; as also to vessels for drinking, though they consist of silver (as the coffee-pot), or pewter. By a pot of beer we also mean a quart.

POLE, or PERCH.

This is now a certain measure of sixteen feet and a half, forty poles making a quarter of an acre: the reason of this name is, that, though land may be now measured by a chain, the custom formerly was to do it by a pole of this length. The case is the same with a *rod of work*, which no doubt was measured at first by a rod or pole; as likewise with the *yard*, the length of three feet, which was adjusted by a *yerde* or *virga*, of that length. Yerde and rod seem to me to be the same word, by a *metathesis* of letters, as common in our language. Hither also may be referred the *cord*, meaning a certain and determinate quantity of wood, when stacked, namely as much as was usually measured at once by a cord or string.

PASTEBOARD.

The covers of books were anciently made of boards; many are now remaining in their original binding made of that material. Folds of paper were afterwards pasted together for covers; and this substance, though so different from the former, preserved the name of board, being called pasteboard.

POKING-STICK, or SETTING-STICK.

This is now commonly made of bone or steel, but formerly was really a stick. V. Stow, Chronicle, p. 1038.

STIRROP.

It is evident from various monuments of antiquity, that at first people rode without either saddles or stirrups; and when the latter began to be used here in this island, especially by our Saxon ancestors, a rope was applied for the purpose of mounting, and was termed a *stigh-rope*, from *stigan*, *ascendere*. That this is the true etymology of the word is evident from the Saxon name of the thing, *stigerapa*,

stapia. There is no rope, however, used at this day about the modern stirrups. Of this, and sallet-oil, I may say more to you perhaps hereafter; at present I go on.

SCABBARD.

The sheath used for a sword, of which Junius gives this etymon: "Videtur esse a Teut. Schap, promptuarium, theca. V. quæ infra annotamus in *Scep*, cumera. Gawino Episc. Dunkel. in Scot. translatione Virgiliana, circa initium xi. *Æneid. evore scalbert* dicitur eburnea vagina." I think it very plain from this passage of Gawin Douglas, that the true orthography is *scalbord*, corrupted since to *scabbard*. Now *scalbord* implies a board, or rather two pieces of board, hollowed for the reception of the blade of the sword, and then fastened together with glue. The two pieces would be called *scales*, just as the two *laminæ* in the handle of a knife are termed by the cutlers *scales*. In short, the sheath of the sword was formerly, as I apprehend, made of wood, though it is now composed of leather. Mr. Ed. Lhuyd, in *Archæol. Brit.* p. 15, writes it *sgabard*.

A STONE.

A weight of 14lb. in some places only of 8lb. The reason of the name is, that weights at first were generally made of stone, Deut. xxv. 13. and we see some few of the sort now; but most commonly they are made, the larger ones especially, of lead, but still go by the old name.

STONE-BOW.

This is the cross-bow. Wisdom of Sol. v. 22. and Littleton's Dict. in *voce*. The French call it *pierrier*. The reason of the term in both languages is, that formerly the bullet, discharged by the cross-bow, was commonly made of stone.

STEAN-POT.

This should, by the etymon, be made of stone, but is usually earthenware.

TOUCH-HOLE.

Our fire-arms were at first discharged, by applying a lighted match to the touch-hole, and consequently by *touching* the hole, as is now done in firing great guns. And though that method is now left off, by means of the later improvement of the lock, the hole still keeps its old name.

TREACLE.

Θγίακκν, *Theriaca*, corrupted afterwards to *theriacal*, was originally a medicine, or compound, good against the bite of a serpent. From this *theriacal* comes the modern word *treacle*; and though the treacle of the apothecary, and the grocer's treacle, which is the molasses, are not now used with any such intention, they still keep a name borrowed from the first intention of the medicine or antidote.

THIRDBOROW.

This is a corruption of *headborow*, the same in the north as tithingman, or borsholder in the south. See Borsholder.

UPSHOT.

Though archery is now so much disused amongst us, the term *upshot* (for which see Stow's Survey of London, I. p. 302), in the sense of the end or conclusion of any business, is still retained.

WINDOW.

The windows of houses and churches were either entirely open, or filled with lattice-work, formerly. Hence Judges, v. 28. we read, "The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice." These apertures were commonly the places where the wind entered the buildings, and so took the name of window, though now, being closed with glass, nothing of that nature attends them; on the contrary, they are now so contrived as to exclude the wind.

WARD.

A term relative to a forest, and still used in places to which forests extended; though such forests are now no more. The same may be said of forests themselves, which are still so called, though they are not now properly forests.

These, Mr. Urban, are all the instances I can recollect at present: many more, no doubt, will occur to others, who perhaps may not be displeased to be put into a way of thinking on a subject that is sure to afford them some amusement.

Yours, &c.

1774, June, July.

T. Row.

MR. URBAN,

I HERE beg leave to add, as a supplement to what I advanced in your late Magazine on the word *stirrop*, that, in

Matth. Paris, p. 565, the word *strepa* apparently signifies 'a stirrop.' See also Dr. Watts's Glossary there in *voce*. St. Jerome, again, has *strapia*, for the same thing: and there is likewise such a word in Latin as *struppus*, for 'a string or thong;' whence some, perhaps, may incline to fancy (the lovers, I mean, of etymology), that the word *stirrop* may have come to us from some of those barbarous Latin words;* that the *strap* and *stirrop* had the same original, and that they meant one and the same thing. Dr. Watts, I think, was of that opinion; and it is certain, that *strepe*, in Blount's Tenures, p. 33, signifies 'a stirrop,' and that Dr. Littleton, in the word *struppus*, says, "Hinc Angl. a strap, a stirrup." But now, as I esteem the orthography of the word to be *stirrop* (so Skelton writes it, p. 188), and not *stirrup*, as Dr. Littleton gives it†, it is more natural to think it took its name from a *rope*, formerly used instead of a leathern strap now in vogue, *sti-rope* meaning the *rope* by which they used to ascend or mount their horses. Thus *sty* signifies to *ascend*, in the Mirrour of Magistrates, p. 402, where Sir Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers, says,

Then grew the king and realm to quiet rest,
Our stock and friends still *stying* higher and higher.

And *stee-hopping* is playing the hobby-horse, that is, hopping high, in Somersetshire. Hence also the word *stile*, *scalarium*, *scala*, from the A. Sax. *stigle*, which word *stile* is pronounced, in Derbyshire, *stee*, the very name they give to a ladder in Yorkshire, the degrees of which are in many places called *steles*. Hence, again, the word *stair* comes from the Saxon *stegher*, *gradus*, which is derived from *stigan*, *ascendere*, as *sty*, *stee*, *stile*, or *stigle*, or *steles*, above-mentioned, all are. This etymology of the word *stirrop* is certainly much corroborated by the Saxon name of it, which I mentioned in my last paper, viz. *stigerapa*, plainly shewing, that it is an easy derivation from *stigh-rope*, and manifestly ought to have the preference before any of those barbarous words specified above.

I shall now take the liberty, Mr. Urban, to add a word on *sallet-oil*; a subject intimately connected with my late paper, but for which I had then no room. People are very

* *Slippa* is used, in Blount's Tenures, p. 31, for a stirrup; but I suspect it to be an error, for *stippa*, which occurs in Camden, Col. 1023.

† Dr. Plott also so writes it, Hist. Staff. p. 977, and more corruptly, viz. *stuirup*, p. 376.

apt to imagine, that this sort of oil is named from its being used in mixing *sallads for eating*, as if the true way of writing it was *sallad-oil*; but, Sir, the oil used in cookery was always of a better and sweeter sort than that rank stuff called *sallet-oil*. The truth is, the *sallet* was the head-piece in the times that defensive armour was so much in use, and *sallet-oil* was that sort of oil which was used for the cleaning and brightening it and the rest of the armour. Thus, you have “a *sallet* and ij *sculles*” in the inventory of Mr. Lawrence, rector of Stavely, co. Derb. The word occurs again in the inventory of Pet. Tretchvile, Esq. anno 1581; and also in the description of the sarcastical coat of arms of Cardinal Wolsey,

Arise up, Jacke, and put on thy salatt.

In an indictment for an assault of the citizens of Canterbury, anno 1501, upon the people of Christ-Church there, it runs, “Brigenderis, jackys, salettis, scullis, et gauntelettis,” &c. where the assault, mentioned likewise in English, stands thus, “Brygandyrans, jakks, salets, sculles, and other armor.” See also Dr. Cowel in *voce*, and Fabian, p. 404, whose words are, “and dyd on him hys bryganders set with gylt nayle, and his salet and gylte sporres.” In sum, it is the French word *salade*, for which see the dictionaries, and Menage’s *Origine de La Lang. Franc.* in *voce*. On the whole, you see, Sir, what is most to the point, that though the *sallet* is now entirely out of date, yet the oil retains the name, which is the very thing I proposed, in these short sketches, to illustrate.

I am, &c.

1774, Sept.

T. Row.

LXI. Nugæ Venales.—Pugna Porcorum.

MR. URBAN,

AS matters of singularity are sometimes received as proper subjects for your entertaining *Melange*, I shall beg leave to introduce one here. Hubald, a monk, who flourished A.D. 916, and consequently in the tenth century, otherwise called the *obscure age*, wrote a book, consisting of 300 hexameter verses, in praise of baldness, whereof every line began with C, and he addressed his work to Charles

the Bald, or Carolus Calvus, the emperor. This piece, which began,

“Carmina clarisonæ calvis cantate Camœnæ,
Comere condigno conabor carmine calvos,”

has been several times printed. This reminds one of what Jul. Capitolinus relates concerning the strange whim of the young Emperor Antonius Geta, who ordered for his dinner such dishes as began with the same letter. But as the passage is curious, and not long, I will here transcribe it: “Habebat etiam istam consuetudinem, ut convivia et maxima prandia per singulas literas juberet, scientibus servis, velut in quo erat anser, aprugna, anas; item pullus, perdix, pavo, porcellus, piscis, perna, et quæ in eam literam genera edulium caderent; et item fasianus, farta, ficus, et talia.”

But, to be ingenuous, Mr. Urban, I have a motive of my own for troubling you, at this time, with the above fanciful puerilities; for I really want some information and assistance in regard to a matter of the same kind, which I am just now going to mention. There has come to my hand a small book in 24mo. intitled,

“*Nugæ Venales. Sive Thesaurus vivendi et jocandi. Ad gravissimos severissimosque viros, Patres Melancholiorum conscriptos. Anno 1648. Prostant apud neminem; sed tamen ubique.*” It is a jest book in Latin, much like that of Nicodemus Frischlinus and Henricus Bebelius, printed together at Amst. 1651. Now, Sir, at the end of the book in question, there is a little piece with a new paging, but, as it has the same cut, and was printed the same year, may be looked upon as a part, or an appendix to the former, intitled,

“*Pugna Porcorum per P. Porcium, Poetam.*

Paraclesis pro Potore.

*Perlege porcorum pulcherrima prælia, potor,
Potando poteris placidam proferre poësin.*”

It is a satirical jumble of words aimed at the obesity and laziness of the prelates, and alluding to contentions between them and the inferior clergy, or laity, but whether to any particular contest I am at a loss to find out, and therefore, if any of your learned correspondents happen to know any thing of the story, or its author, I shall be obliged to them for their information. For my part, I have run the piece over, but can understand little or nothing of it, insomuch that I am under a necessity of intreating assistance from

elsewhere. However, to give the reader some imperfect notion of its whimsicalness and extravagance; I shall subjoin the Dedication prefixed in prose, as containing something like the argument of the performance, and after that a few of the lines.

“Potentissimo Patrono Porcianorum, P. Porcius, Poeta, Prosperitatem precatur plurimam.

“Postquam publice porci putamur, præstantissime Patrone, placuit porcorum pugnam, poëmate pangere, potissime proponendo pericula pinguum prælatorum; pugnant pigriter pusillanimi prælati propter pinguedinis pondus, porro potentius porcelli pauca proceritate perpoliti: propterea placeat precor puerile poëma perlegere porcorum porcellorumque pugnam propositionibus pictam paribus, perpræpostere.”

The poem begins,

“Plaudite porcelli, porcorum pigra propago
Progreditur, plures porci pinguedine pleni.
Pugnantes pergunt, pecudum pars prodigiosa
Perturbat pede petrosas plerumque plateas,
Pars portentose populorum prata profanat,
Pars pungit populando potens, pars plurima plagis
Præterdit punire pares, prosternere parvos,” &c.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1776, Nov.

T. Row.

MR. URBAN,

ON perusing your Magazine for Nov. 1776, wherein the ingenious Mr. Row has given an account of a singular publication, intitled “*Nugæ Venales*,” it occurred to me that I could in some measure give him the information he desired respecting the author of the poem affixed as an appendix to the *Joculatoria*.

When at Oxford in the year 1774, I was favoured with a sight of the piece Mr. R. has described, which was delivered to me as a curious production of a music-master (I think a German) then in the university, a Mr. Lates. It begins with the lines given in your Magazine.

Plaudite porcelli, porcorum pigra propago
Progreditur—

and consisted of about 350.

What might be the musician's intention of palming on

the world, as his own, a composition incontestably the offspring of another, I will not pretend to say—But that it had been printed “as yet Mr. Lates’s image being unformed,” is sufficiently clear from a review of “*Les Bigarrures du Seigneur des Accords*,” and of the “*Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Socraticæ*” of Dornavius. In both these the poem is ascribed to an “*Allemande*, one Petrus Porcius, so nicknamed from the subject-matter he so laboriously and fancifully discussed,—his real name being Petrus Placentius.” This account is further confirmed by Baillet, in his tract “*des Auteurs Deguisez*.” The passage relative to our author runs thus: “*Enfin il s’est trouvé un poète, qui voulant decrire un Combat de Pores, s’est fait appeller Publius Porcius—son ouvrage estoit un de ces poèmes que nous appellons Lettrisez ou Tautogrammes, et tous les mots de la piece commençant par la lettre P, il n’auroit rien gasté de son œconomie, s’il s’estoit appelé Petrus Placentius, qui estoit son nom, mais il luy préféra celui de Porcius.*”

To these authorities may be added that of M. Le Clerc, who hath given us the age in which the poet lived, with an account of his other publications, though he wholly differs from Dornavius and Baillet in his prænomen. Le Clerc says that his name was Johannes Leo Placentius, a Dominican monk, born at St. Inden, and lived in the 16th age, in 1536; that he composed a history of the bishops of Tongres, Mæstricht, and Liege, taken out of fabulous memoirs, and several poems, among the rest, one de Porcorum Pugna, all the words whereof begin with the letter P, imitating one Theobaldus, a monk of the order of St. Benedict, who (as your correspondent has remarked) flourished in the time of Charles the Bald, to whom he presented a Panegyric on Baldness, every word beginning with the letter C. From the matter of Placentius’s poem, it appears to be written by one to whom the dignitaries of the church were obnoxious, being levelled, in a satirical strain, (as Mr. Row observes,) against their obesity and indolence; though the contest between them and the inferior clergy may be referred, I should rather suppose, to the “*Licentia Poetica*,” than to any real occurrence, or probably to some incident in the fabulous memoirs above noticed. The catalogue of authors that have thus trifled away their time, might be numerously enlarged, whose compositions must have cost vast labour in the production, and are equally *useless* and *illaudable* when composed. For, as Martial says,

Turpe est difficiles habere nugas,
Et stultus labor ineptiarum.—

I cannot quit the subject without remarking, that the ingenious Mr. Addison has humourously ridiculed the writers of this stamp, in the 59th and 63d Nos. of his *Spectator*; among others, Tryphiodorus, deservedly known to the world by a poem intituled, *ἸΛΙΟΥ ΑΛΩΣΙΣ*, the Destruction of Troy, being a sequel to the *Iliad* of Homer, translated by the late learned Mr. Merrick.

1777, *Feb.*

I am, Sir, yours,

J. P.

LXII. *Conjecture on an obscure Passage in Shakespeare.*

MR. URBAN,

“ *Or to take arms against a sea of troubles.*”

Hamlet, Act III. Sc. 1.

THE incongruity of metaphors in these well-known words has exercised the pens of many a critical admirer of Shakespeare; but there is another passage in the same play, which has not been so frequently noticed, though, according to the present reading, the images in it seem to be rather improperly blended. The lines to which I refer are in Act II. Scene 1. where Polonius, having discovered his want of sagacity in advising Ophelia to discountenance Hamlet's addresses, because he thought the prince only trifled with his daughter, delivers himself as follows :

“ That hath made him mad.

I'm sorry, that with better *speed* and *judgment*
I had not *quoted* him.”

Dr. Warburton peremptorily pronounced *quoted* to be nonsense, and said it appeared, though he shewed not how, that Shakespeare wrote *noted*; and Dr. Johnson, not approving of this alteration, was willing to believe, that *quote* here signifies to reckon, to take an account of, to take the *quotient* or result of a computation. However, as this very learned editor, notwithstanding “ his longer acquaintance with the lexicography of our language than any other writer,” has

not cited an instance of this use of the word *quote*, I may venture to conclude he had never met with one in any author. I am, I must own, inclined to suspect that for *quoted* we ought to read *quoited*. The omission of the *i* in the diphthong *oi* might easily happen through the negligence or inattention of a transcriber, a printer, or a corrector of the press; and some reasons may be given why this emendation ought not to be deemed a whimsical surmise. In the old quarto the word is *coted*; and I have a notion, that *coit* or *quoit*, in our ancient English writers, was oftener spelt indiscriminately with a *c* or a *q*, than *quote*. Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, also specifies the verb to *quoit* to be both of the active and neuter kind; it will be readily admitted that the words with *speed* and *judgment* are completely adapted to the diversion of *coyting*, so styled in the stat. of 33 of Hen. VIII. It may be further remarked, that in the same speech the same metaphor is pursued by Polonius, when he acknowledges,

“ Beshrew my jealousy!

It seems, it is as proper to our age
To *cast* beyond ourselves in our opinions,
As it is common for the younger sort
To lack discretion.”

Quoited is undoubtedly a quaint expression, and therefore Shakespeare might with the greater propriety let it fall from the tongue of a conceited and pedantic old courtier. This conjecture is, however, thrown out by one who professes himself to be little skilled in the game of criticism; but if it falls short of the mark, it may be a direction to some expert player, and enable him with better speed and judgment to *quoit* the true meaning of the poet.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1776, Nov.

W. & D.

LXIII. On the Introduction of Letters into Greece.

MR. URBAN,

THE learned Dr. Chandler, in his account of his late travels, tells us, that the Greek alphabet, as imported by Cadmus from Phœnicia, consisted of sixteen letters; that Palamedes added four more, and Simonides the other four. Dr. Gregory Sharp, however, in his *Origin and Structure of the Greek Tongue*, gives a very different relation of this matter.

We are informed, says the Doctor, by Diodorus, the Sicilian, that it was the opinion of some persons that letters were invented by the Syrians, from whom the Phœnicians first learned their use, and then communicated them to the Greeks. Herodotus, declaring his own opinion, says, that the Phœnicians, under Cadmus, brought learning into Greece, and that the Greeks had not earlier the use of letters. This is contradicted by Diodorus, Pausanias, Zenobius, and others. Diodorus informs us, that Linus composed a book upon the acts of the first Dionysius, in Pelasgic characters; and that the same were used by Orpheus and by Pronepides, the preceptor of Homer. Zenobius says, that Cadmus slew Linus, for teaching characters differing from his; and Pausanias, in his Attics, assures us, that he himself saw an inscription upon the tomb of Coræbus, who lived at the time when Crotopus, who was contemporary with Deucalion, was king of the Argives. Letters, therefore, were in use long before the arrival of Cadmus. Letters were first introduced into Greece and Italy by the Pelasgi; they were afterwards subjected to some considerable alterations by Cadmus, and further still by the Ionians. The Africans, Spaniards, Celts, and Etrurians, as well as the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, all made use of Pelasgic or Phœnician letters. The Greeks, at first, had no more than sixteen: these, without the names of Alpha, Beta, &c. they received from the old Pelasgi. When Cadmus entered Greece, he gave them the names, and added to the old characters three more letters, Zeta, Eta, and Chi, and as many numeral characters, Bau, Sanpi, Koppa, all which are taken from the Phœnician alphabet, as is evident from their names, their shape, and place and power. These, with the Pelasgic characters, complete the Phœnician alphabet. Some other changes, also, it is probable, might have been made by Cadmus in the shape of some of the letters. That any of these characters were invented by Simonides or Palamedes, or any other Greek, is a fable that doth not deserve credit; since they were all exactly in their proper place, as in the Hebrew, Syriac, or Phœnician alphabet. The Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, added several letters to the Phœnician alphabet. The present Greek alphabet is the Ionic, having five letters added to the end of that which they received from the Pelasgi and Phœnicians.

Yours, &c.

1776, *July*.

S. WATSON.

LXIV, Origin of Old Nick.

MR. URBAN,

NOBODY has accounted for the Devil's having the name of *Old Nick*. Keysler de Dea Nehaleunia, p. 33, and Antiq. Septentr. p. 261, mentions a deity of the waters worshipped by the ancient Germans and Danes under the name of *Nocca* or *Nicken*, styled in the Edda *Nikur*, which he derives from the German *nugen*, answering to the Latin *necare*. Wormius, Mon. Dan. p. 17, says, the redness in the faces of drowned persons was ascribed to this deity's sucking their blood out at their nostrils. Wasthovius, pref. ad Vit. Sanctior. and Loccenius, Antiq. Sueco-Goth. p. 17, calls him *Nec-cus*, and quote, from a Belgo-Gallic Dictionary, *Neccer*, *Spiritus Aquaticus*, and *Necce*, *necare*. The Islandic Dict. in Hicks's Thes. P. III. p. 85, renders *Nikur*, *bellua aquatica*. Lastly, Rudbekius, Atlant. p. 1. c. 7. § 5. p. 192. and c. 30. p. 719. mentions a notion prevalent among his countrymen, that *Neckur*, who governed the sea, assumed the form of various animals, or of a horseman, or of a man in a boat. He supposes him the same with Odin; but the above authorities are sufficient to evince that he was the Northern Neptune, or some subordinate sea-god of a noxious disposition. Wormius queries whether a figure said to be seen, 1615, on the river Lan, and called *Wasser Nichts*, might not be of this kind. Probably it was a sea-monster of the species called *Mermen*, and by our Spenser, Fairy-Queen, II. 12. 24.

The griesly Wasserman.

It is not unlikely, but the name of this evil spirit might, as Christianity prevailed in these northern nations, be transferred to the father of evil.

If it would not be thought punning on names, I would hazard another conjecture. St. Nicholas was the patron of mariners, consequently opponent to *Nickur*. How he came by this office does not appear. The Legend says, "Ung jour que aucuns mariniers perissoient si le prierent ainsi a larmes, Nicolas, serviteur de Dieu, si les choses sont vraies que nous avons ouyes, si les esprouve maintenant. Et tantot ung homme s'apparut a la semblance de luy, et leur dit, Veez moy, se ne m'appellez vous pas : et leur commença a leur ayder en leur exploit : de la ne fet tantost la tempestate cessa. Et quant ils furent venus a son Eglise ilz

se cogneurent sans demonstrier, et si ne l'avoient oncques veu. Et lors rendirent graces a Dieu et a luy de leur delivrance; et il leur dit que ilz attribuassent a la misericorde de Dieu et a leur creance, et non pas a ses merites." Then follow other miracles, not peculiarly appropriated to him under this character. We have afterwards, indeed, another story of his delivering from an illusion of the Devil certain pilgrims *qui alloient a luy a nage*, which I understand to mean only *by water*. *Legende d'Or.* fol. viii. See also Blomefield's *Hist. of Norfolk*, II. p. 861.

1777, *March*.

PALÆOPHILUS.

LXV. On the *Crisis*, a Grammatical Figure.

CORRUPTIONS, by means of the figure we call a *Crisis*, have had a great effect, I believe, in all languages; it is when the prefix adheres to the following word, which it often very easily and naturally does, in pronunciation, and afterwards is written or printed in that form. Thus the modern names of the city of Athens are *Satinas* and *Satines*, from *ες τας Αθηνας*; and that of Constantinople, *Stamboul*, from *ες την πολιν*. Hence *ædepol*, *mehercule*, &c. of the Romans; and, perhaps, our word *endeavour*, and *rendezvous*, from the French *en devoir*, and *rendez vous*. Some attention, however, is necessary in the case, and some distinction should be made, for the *Crisis* is not concerned in all words that coalesce together, as *otherwise*, *always*, &c. which ought rather to be called compounds; for I esteem it no *Crisis* unless there be such a mixture or coalition of letters in the word as to make the word to seem different from itself, and to be obscured or deformed by it. Thus *Birlady*, a form of swearing by the blessed Virgin, much used formerly, and sometimes now, is a manifest jumble and corruption of *By our Lady*.

It appears, from this short account of things, that vulgar, hasty, and inaccurate pronunciation has been the principal cause of this figure; which has been more applied in our language than, I presume, is commonly thought; and therefore I am in hopes that a regard had unto it cannot fail of giving light unto the sense and etymology of very many of our English words. The figure has also operated very remarkably in some of our English surnames, as has been noted by our learned Camden, *Remains*, p. 122; we shall therefore insert those instances among the rest. I observe,

lastly, before I proceed on my Alphabet, that it is surprising how prone the country people of the north and mid-land parts of England are to the use of this grammatical figure, especially in respect of the article *The*, which in the shape of *T* or *Th* they will join to words which begin with a consonant, or with more than one; causing thereby much roughness and harshness, and even difficulty of pronunciation; o'er *th'bridge*, or o'er *th'brig*, as they speak it, for *over the bridge*.

Now, the prefixes, or other particles, which usually coalesce with the words they belong to, so as to alter or disguise them, are these: *A, An, Al, Ap, By, Di, De, Do, I, In, It, Mine, Ne, O, Saint, The, Two, Three*, and *To*. And these I propose to go through in their order.

A. An Accomplice. The monkish historians perpetually use the word *Complices* in Latin; and *Complice* itself, as an English word, occurs in *Weaver*, Fun. Monuments, p. 266, and see Johnson. So that I suspect a *Crisis* here, and that it was first a *Complice*, corrupted afterwards to *Accomplice*, which in that case would require the article '*an*' to be prefixed. The word *accomplice* might facilitate the corruption with unthinking people.

AN. A Nayword. This is a common expression for a by-word or proverb, and is probably a *Crisis* of an *Aye-Word*; that is, a word, or saying, *always* and perpetually used, agreeable to the ancient use of *Aye*. If this be not the meaning and original of it, it will be difficult to account for it.

A Narrow, id est, an arrow. See Mr. Hearne and Gul. Neubrig. p. lxxxv. lxxxvi. The prefix has here evidently grown and fastened itself to the noun.

Jacke Napes, which Skelton gives us, p. 160, seems to be *Jack an Apes*, as Littleton writes it; but I am doubtful about this, as *Nape* or *Knape* is the same as *Knave* or *Servant*. See Gloss. to Douglas's *Virgil*.

A Nogler. This is the name formerly given to those people who travelled the country with Sheffield wares; a practice now generally left off, insomuch that the name itself is falling into oblivion, as the original of the word has long since done. I take the etymon to be this: what we call an *higler*, was once written an *hagler*, and so you will find it in Dr. Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 278. Now, an *hagler* is very easily turned into a *nagler*, and with a open, a *nogler*. Dr. Johnson omits the *higler*, and describes the *hagler* as one that is tardy in bargaining, from to *haggle*.

But it seems the *higler* and the *hagler* is the same person, and so this sense of the latter word is omitted by him.

A Newt. An est, or small lizard, of which newt is the common name in Derbyshire and Staffordshire, Plott, Hist. Staff. p. 244, 251; and it is used by Shakespeare's Macbeth, A. IV. Sc. 1. "*Newt*, says Dr. Johnson, is supposed by Skinner to be contracted from *an evet*," and it certainly is so. The Saxon word is *efete*; so that the gradation is an *efete*, an *evet*, a *nevet*, a *newt*, *v* consonant being turned into *u*, just as *v* in *Devil* is changed into *u* by those who pronounce it; as the vulgar often do, *Deul*.

A Needle, anciently written *a neld*, which perhaps may by *Crisis* be *an eld*, the same as *an else*, used by shoemakers.

Nawl, i. e. an awl, implement of the cobbler, used by Beaum. and Fletcher, VIII. p. 55.

A Noddy; quasi, by a *Crisis*, *an oddy*; a singular or whimsical person.

A Nailbourn. This word is both so written and pronounced in Kent, and answering to the *vipseys* or *gypsies* in Yorkshire, Camd. Col. 901, or Ray on the Deluge, p. 95. means a torrent which flows only now and then, or once in a few years. Now, when these torrents broke out, they were supposed to betoken famines, sicknesses, and deaths, chiefly I presume sicknesses; whence I conjecture there is a *Crisis* in the case, a *nailbourn* being in fact *an ailbourn*, as the forerunner of *ails* or diseases. It is written, however, *eylebourn* by Dr. Harris, p. 240, 23, 411, and so Philipot gives it, p. 42. which perhaps may be a corruption of *oilbourn*, but as these desultory torrents often abound with small eels, it is possible they might take their name from thence, quasi *celbournes*. But there will still be a *Crisis* in *nailbourn*.

At. This particle coheres chiefly in such names of persons as are taken from situation; as,

Tash, which Mr. Camden thinks is contracted from *at Ash*. Remains, p. 123.

Twells. As we have the name of *Atwells*, or *Atwell*, one has certainly reason to think that *Twells* is a *Crisis* for *at Wells*.

AB or *AP.* We have certain names now in England, brought originally, I suppose, from Wales, in which the *ab* or *ap* is become a part of the name that followed it. At first they were patronymics, though they are not so now. Thus *Pugh* is *ap Hugh*; *Price* or *Brice*, *ap Rice*; *Pritchard*, *ap Richard*; *Prideaux*, *ap Rideaux*; *Bevan*, *ap Evan*; *Bowen*, *ap Owen*; *Powel*, *ap Hoel*.

BY. *Bilive*, i. e. *by le Eve*; sometimes written *blive* and *blyve*. Gloss. to Chaucer, v. *Blive*.

DI. *Didapper*, the bird, quasi *Dive-Dapper*; which is confirmed by its being called *Dab-Chick* in Kent.

DO. *Don* and *doff*, i. e. to *do on*, and *do off*. See Johnson in *Vocibus*.

DE. In names of persons drawn from the places of their abode, or extraction, the French particle *De* will often coalesce with the name of the place, if it begin with a vowel. *Danvers*, *de* or *d'Anvers*; *Daeth*, *de* or *d'Aeth*, a town in Hainault; *Dashwood* may be supposed to be *de* or *d'Ashwood*; *Davill*, *d'Eivill*; Camden, *Remains*, p. 122; *Doily*, *de Oily*, *ibid.* p. 111; *Dauney*, *ibid.* p. 122. *Aunay* is a plot of ground where alders grow; and, to name no more, *Devereux* is undoubtedly *d'Evereux*.

ECHE or EACH. Hence *every chone*, Skelton, p. 192, i. e. *every each one*; which we have now contracted to *every one*.

I. This pronoun easily coalesces, as *I'm*, *I'll*, *I'd*, i. e. *I would*. Percy's *Songs*, p. 81. *Ychulle*, Percy, III. p. xvii. i. e. *I shall*, *ye shall*.

IN. *Ith* for *in the*; hence *yth*, Percy, I. p. 6.

IT. Hence *'tis*.

MINE. *My neam*, *my nont*; *nuncle*, *nont*. These words are used familiarly in the north by young people to the elder sort, though there be no alliance or relation between them. *Eame* is the Saxon for *uncle*, and the possessive pronoun *mine* has grown to it. The second is from *mine aunt* in like manner, as likewise *nuncle* (see Shakespeare, *Lear* I. sc. 4.) and *nont*.

NE. This old negative very readily coincided with words beginning with a vowel or a *w*.

Nis and *nys*, i. e. *ne is*, or *is not*; Skelton, p. 62. *Nill*, for *ne will*; *nilt*, *ne wilt*: Fairfax, Chaucer. Hence *will* or *nill*, *Invective* against Wolsey. So *nil'd* for *ne would*: *Mirroure* of Magistrates, p. 487.

N'ot, and *nolt*, for *ne wot*, or *know not*, written in *Machabree*, folio 220, *note*. *Nolt* occurs in Fairfax, xviii. 50.

None is either *ne one* or *no one*.

Nere, i. e. *ne were*: Fairfax, xii. 81.

Nould, *ne would*: Fairfax, v. 47; x. 61; *alibi*.

Nought, *ne ought*; written also formerly *noght*.

Nam, *neam*; *nart*, *neart*; *nad*, *ne had*; *nist*, *ne wist*: all in Chaucer.

O. *Ho!* I take to mean, *O ye!*

OF. *O'th'*, i. e. *of the*. Hence *ath the*, Percy, i. p. 6.

where *the* abounds by the mistake of the copyist; for p. 9. you have *athe*, for *of the*, twice.

SAINT. This word, prefixed to the names of certain holy men, or reputed to be so, either adhered, by means of its last letter *T*, to the name of such saint, or the whole of it was joined to it; especially in certain of our surnames borrowed from the names of saints. I shall specify, first, some cases where the last letter only adheres, which mostly happens where the name begins with a vowel. Thus the French *S. Agnan*, or *Aignan*, was pronounced by some in France *S. Tignan*: *H. Steph.* Apolog. pour Herodote, iii. p. 242, Edit. 1735.

A Tantony pig; so written in Drake's Eborac. p. 315, meaning a pig of St. Anthony.

Tawdery, i. e. *St. Audrey*; "a term borrowed from those times when they tricked and bedecked the shrines and altars of the saints, as being at vye with each other on that occasion. The votaries of St. Audrey (an isle of Ely saint) exceeding all the rest in the dress and equipage of her altar, It grew into a byword upon any thing that was very gaudy, *that it was all taudry*, as much as to say, all St. Audrey:" Canting Dict. v. Taudry.

Talkmund. St. Alkmund's church at Derby is commonly called *Talkmund*.

San Telme. The meteor called *St. Elmo* in Ulloa, ii. p. 350, is written *San Telmo*.

S. Tathan, *St. Athan* or *Aithan*. Memorial of Brit. Piety, Append. p. 40.

S. Twinnel, i. e. *St. Winnol*. Ibid. p. 48.

Tooley-street, *Tooley-bridge*, *Tooley-corner*, all in Southwark, from *St. Olave*, pronounced *Olye*, as Camden gives it: Remains, p. 123.

St. Tooses. *St. Osithe's*, written *St. Tooses* in Bailey's Life of Bishop Fisher, p. 88. Mr. Camden observes, that *St. Osyth* is turned into *Saint Tows*: Remains, ibid.

St. Tabbe. *St. Ebba* was the famous prioress of *Coldingham*, who chose to deform herself, with her nuns, rather than be abused by the insolent Danes. See Camden, Remains, l. c. also Fuller, Worthies in Rutland.

St. Thetha, or *St. Teath.* *St. Etha* was a Cornish Saint.

St. Tomer. This name we have in Camden's Remains, p. 151, for *St. Omer*, or *de Sto. Awdomaro*.

St. Tole. *St. Aldate's* church, or *St. Old's* at Oxford, is vulgarly called *St. Tole's*. Pointer, Oxon. Acad. p. 109.

Town. This surname, I imagine, may be corrupted of *St. Owen*, who occurs in Camden, p. 151.

I come now to those instances where the whole substance as it were, of the word *Saint* is incorporated with the name; as is evident from many of our surnames taken from the names of saints. The French *San*, as in *Sampol*, *Sammarthanus*, &c. coheres thus in their language.

Samond: i. e. *St. Amand*, or *de Sto. Amando*.

Simberd. *St. Barbe*, or *de Sta. Barbara*. Camden, p. 150.

Sinclair. *De Sta. Clara*, or *de Sto. Claro*. as *Newcourt*, in *Repert.* i. p. 224. But q. if this be not an error?

Sanlis, *Senliz*, *Singlis*. These are, *St. Lis*, or *de Sto. Lisis*, or *Sylvanectensis*, for which see Camden, p. 150.

Sentlo. *St. Lo*, or *de Sto. Laudo*. Camden, p. 151.

Sentlow. This is different from the former, being interpreted *de Sancto Lupo*. Camden. *ibid.* *Lupus* is the name of a saint.

Sellinger. So they commonly pronounce this name; whereas the orthography is *St. Leger*, i. e. *de Sto. Leodegario*. Camden, p. 156.

Semarton, *St. Martin*, or *de Sto. Martino*. Camden, p. 151.

Semarc. *St. Medard*. Camden, p. 150. But one would rather think *St. Marc*.

Seimple. *Sampol*. The first is the Scotch name, the second the French; both are *St. Paul*.

Seimpere, *Sampier*, or *Sempere*. *St. Peter*, or *de Sto. Petro*.

Semour. *De Sto. Mauro*.

THE. *Bythene*, i. e. *by the even*, or *by night*. Romance of *Amys* and *Amylion*.

To *thende*. To *the ende*. Caxton, *Mirroure*, cap. 5.

Taylot. Gloucestershire word; meaning an *hay-loft*. At first, no doubt, they said *in taylot*, for *in the hay-loft*; and then converted the whole into a substantive, calling a *hay-loft* by that name.

Tuffold, or *Tovel*. This means an *hovel* in Derbyshire, where they first said *in tovel*, i. e. *in the hovel*; and then, by mistake, took *touel* to be the substantive, for *hovel*.

Ton and *Tother*: as, *do you take ton*, and *I'll take tother*; meaning *the one* and *the other*. *The ton*, Percy, i. p. 7. where either *the* or *t* abounds; and yet this is very commonly used, as is *the tother*, for which see Percy, p. 58.

Tierne cross, in Somner's *Antiq. of Canterb.* p. 11, 169, is *the iron cross*.

Nathless. *Not the less*. See Dr. Johnson.

To. By cutting off the *o*, this sign glues itself to many verbs in Caxton, and other authors; as *tabound*, *taccomplish*, *tarrette it*, i. e. to impute it; *toffer*; *talledge hungre and thurst*, Caxton, in *Mirroure*, cap. 5, is to allay them.

TWO. This numeral will sometimes cohere with a noun, as *twinter*, a calf two winters or two years old. Derbyshire.

Trivet. This, in Kent, means two pecks, and consequently is a coalition of *two* *fat* or *vat*.

A *Twibill*. This is an implement that cuts both ways; and as *two* is pronounced often *twa*, hence you have *twa-bill*, or *twi-bill*.

THREE. A *Trivet* is an household implement of iron with three feet to stand before the fire, for the purpose of setting any thing upon to dry or warm, and takes its name from the said *three feet*. See Tanner, Biblioth. in Nic. Trivet.

TOOT. This word means to *peep*, or *peep out*. When peas in Derbyshire first appear, they are said *to toot*, i. e. *to out*; and hence they have the participle *tooting*. Thus, I conceive that *tooting* at Tunbridge-wells means *to out*, in the way of inviting and bringing guests to their master's house.

POSTSCRIPT.

TRIMON. In the anonymous metrical history of the battle of Flodden-field, lately published, it is observed, p. 32, that St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Andrew, never taught the Scottish prelates to go to war, but rather some later Popish saints, Trimon of Quhytehorn, or Doffin of Ross; where, as St. Niman was the great saint at Candida Casa, or Whitehern, the editor says, we should read *Ninian of Quhytehorn*. An emendation is undoubtedly necessary; this, however, is not a happy one. The Scots, it seems, call *Ninian*, *Ringen*, (see Memorial of Brit. Piety, p. 131.) whence I conjecture there is a *Crisis* here, and that the true correction is *Tringen*. If this be the truth, as I presume it is, it affords a pregnant instance of the usefulness of attending to the effects of the *Crisis*: but, indeed, of this, in point of etymology, we have seen many examples above.

SMERWICK. There is something particular in this, as the first letter, instead of the last, in *Saint*, coalesces; for it means *St. Marywick* in the county of Kerry, in Ireland. Campbell, Lives of Adm. ii. p. 49.

1777, July, Aug.

LXVI. On the Word ORMESTA.

MR. URBAN,

MUCH has been both said and written about that barbarous word *Ormesta*, or *Hormesta*, which appears in the title of Paulus Orosius's History, in some MSS. at least. See Prof. Havercamp's Pref. to his noble edition of it; and the Hon. Mr. Barrington's Pref. to King Alfred's Saxon Version thereof. The former of these gentlemen, a professed critic, after exploding Vossius's emendation of *Orchestra*, which, indeed, has been generally disapproved, thinks it may be a corruption of *de miseria mundi*; and the conjecture, it must be allowed, agrees perfectly well with the subject of the author's performance. With your leave, I will here transcribe his own words.

“Quum enim in quibusdam exemplaribus *de ormesia mundi* scriptum inveniatur, id nihil aliud esse existimo quam corruptum ex verbis *de miseria mundi*, et hunc verum esse titulum; quoniam ad illum toto suo opere adludit auctor, qui nullam aliam ob causam septem hos libros, hortatu Augustini, conscripsit, nisi ut ostenderet* miseriam mundi una cum peccato esse natam, neque cum Christiana religione in Imperium Romanum introiisse, sed ab antiquissimis temporibus per universum terrarum orbem viguisse, neque unquam in Imperio Romano, quum vel maxime floreret, defuisse.”

But now, Sir, I do not see how, in this case, you can get the first syllable *Or*, or *Hor*; nor how *Ormesta*, or *Hormesta*; or, if you will, the corrupted word *Ormesia*, which is just as uncouth as the others; can possibly come from *de miseria*, as this learned man contends. Discarding, therefore, this conjecture as insufficient, what if we should read *Or. mesta*, and suppose it to be an abbreviation of *Orbis Mestitia*? This answers equally as well to the argument of the work, and approaches much nearer to the letters in *Ormesta*. They wrote in these times, the single *e* for the diphthongs, and if but in one ancient manuscript it was thus once written *in short*, the rest, transcribed and copied from it, might readily, and by an easy mistake, convert it into one word, *Ormesta*. I know not how gentlemen will relish this

* Lib. I. cap. i. p. 6. Ego initium miseriæ hominum ab initio peccantis hominis ducere institui, &c.

conjecture, but it appears plausible to me; and if at last I shall be thought to have miscarried in it, I have this comfort left, that I have erred with others, and in a matter of some difficulty.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1778, Nov.

T. Row.

LXVII. Sameness of certain dissimilar Words.

MR. URBAN,

THE radical words of our language are not so numerous as, I apprehend, they are commonly thought. They have often an appearance seemingly different, when, in fact, they are originally the same*; thus, to *knit*, *knot*, and *net*, are all from the Saxon *cnyttan*, whence we have *knitting the nets* in Mr. Lewis's Hist. of the Isle of Thanet, p. 135. Terms and expressions have been sometimes varied for precision, as in the instance here given, where all the terms imply *tying*, and yet each expresses a particular mode of doing it; and such variations as these one cannot but approve, and for that very reason, viz. because they serve for the purpose of accuracy and precision. Sometimes, again, our words are altered from less material causes, inaccuracy, mispronunciation, locality, as also by curtailing, lengthening, contracting, &c. *Null*, *annull*, *disannull*, are doubtless, all the same; so *herit* and *inherit*, to *minister* and *administer*, &c. It may be entertaining, however, even in such cases, to observe the present compass and *copia* of our maternal tongue; and in others it may be useful, in order to understand rightly the true force and energy of some of our terms. I propose, therefore, to give a short alphabet of words, dissimilar in shew, but in reality the same as to their origin; and if I happen to explain but one term to the satisfaction of your readers, I shall be pleased: and after this declaration I ought in all reason to be intitled to their candour and indulgence in other instances, where they may think I have either miscarried or been guilty of omissions.

To *assay*, and an *essay*. The last is the French *essai*; and the first, used for the trying of metals, is as apparently the French verb *essayer*.

* See Gloss. to Douglas's Virgil, v. Rowit.

To *allay* and *alloy*. The substantive *alloy* is a baser metal mixed with a richer, so as to abate the value of it; and to *allay* is to abate, correct, diminish; both from the French *allier*, to mix; an *ally*, the French *allie*, may be supposed to come from the same idea of tying, matching, mixing.

Alexander, Saunders, Sanders, Sawney, Sandy. These are all the same, the four latter being the hypocoristical or familiar names used for the first. But perhaps Saunders and Sanders may mean Saunder-son and Sander-son; see Harris, below. I give this specimen of the variation of names, but do not propose in the sequel to give many examples of this sort, (though perhaps one or two may be inserted,) as that would be tedious and superfluous.

Amaze, as *it amazes me, I am amazed*. A maze is a labyrinth, and, metaphorically, a perplexity. The verb comes apparently from the noun, and is a compound, a-mazed; just as we say a-hungred, a-thirst. In strictness there is no such substantive as amaze; but when it is said *I am in amaze*, it ought rather to be written *I am in a maze*.

Astoin, astound, astone, stun. *Astoned* is astonished, in Erudition of Christian Man, p. 198. *Astoin'd* occurs in Capel's Prolusions, p. 10, where the edition of 1609 has *aston'd*; and Capel conjectures *astoun'd*. P. 11. we have *stoin'd*, which methinks shews that *astoin'd* may be right. However, it is plain that *stun* or *stunn'd* is the same word abbreviated, unless you will adduce it from *astound*, i. e. astonished. Fairfax, ix. 23, xiv. 66. Either of these is more natural than to derive it as Dr. Wallis does, from *extonitus*, *attonitus*.

Atone. I much doubt whether there was anciently any such word; for, as *to atone* is to reconcile, Shakespeare's Othello IV. 1, it means to *at one them*, or *make them one*. It answers to *unite*: see Junius, and Hanmer's Glossary. Old Plays, Vol. iv. p. 140. Carew, p. 142. Acts vii. 26.

An Adept. V. a Dab.

Brown, the colour; bran, *furfur*. As *bran* is the brown part of the corn when ground, I conceive it to be so called from its colour, and consequently that these are the same words.

A Band, a string; also an ornament of the neck. A bond, an obligatory writing. These all come from the verb *to bind*, and consequently are the same words. It is remarkable, that, in the Peak of Derbyshire, a *band*, in the sense of a string, is vulgarly pronounced *bond* or *bont*. V. Tend.

Bodice from *Bodies*, says Dr. Johnson. Thus it takes its name from the part it is applied to, and is the same word

with body; just as a *neck* or sham shirt takes its name from being worn on the neck, and as a *head* is used for a *head-dress*.

Beseech. V. Seek.

Bellow. V. Low.

Bliss, which means happiness, is no other than *bless*, as is plain from *blissed* being used for *blessed*; so *blyssed* is *blessed*. Legend of St. Erasmus. *Blissedhede*, blessedness. Ham-pole. See Ames' Typ. Ant. p. 14, 15, Percy's Songs, I. p. 288.

Cloth and clout. A clout is only a piece of cloth, pronounced *clôth* in Yorkshire.

Cloth and clothes. As the last were commonly made of the first, it cannot be doubted but they are the same word.

Chattel and cattle. As *catalla* with the old lawyers and monkish historians signifies all goods moveable and immoveable, these are plainly the same word. Indeed, chattel is only the foreign pronunciation of C, just as of cancelli and cancellarius we have chancel and chancellor. V. Cant.

Chanon, Canal.

To *convoy*, to escort or conduct; to *convey*, to remove. The first has arisen from the latter. *Convey* means *convoy* in Life of Duke of Newcastle, p. 88.

A Cripple and Creeple. Dr. Donne writes *criple*, *creeple*, which we find also in Field's Bible, as if it came from *to creep*, and that we ought to deem them the same words.

Cozen and Cousin. The first signifies now to cheat, by pretending, as it were, to be your friend and relation. Lylie, in his Euphues, p. 181, has "to make a cozen of a person," i. e. a dupe. Many still write *cozen* for *cousin*, or *consanguineus*.

Cud and Quid. The cow chews her *cud*, and the man, when he chews tobacco, calls it *quidding*; so that there seems to be no difference but in pronunciation.

Collogue and Colleague. To *collogue*, in Dr. Johnson, means to wheedle, to flatter; but it also signifies to conspire with others to defraud a person: and as a *colleague* is the same as the Latin *collega*, to *collogue* may seem to come from this.

Coarse and Course. Coarse is written *course*, Fuller, Worth. p. 82; and see Mr. Hearne's Cur. Disc. p. 126: so that it seems to mean a thing *of course*, common to be met with, or ordinary.

Common and Commune. To *commune*, in the sense of conferring, occurs often in the Bible; Sir Thomas More, p. iii. has *to comen*, for the same; and Hall often, in his Chronicle, *to common*, i. e. to discourse in common. Hence you have *communely* for *commonly*, in Tanner's Bibl. 583;

and Skelton, p. 151, calls *common pleas*, *commune place*: and indeed this is correct from *communis*; and one does not wonder to see *communalty*, and *communalte*, and *communalte*, in old authors.

Canon and Cannon. The engines of death called *cannons* are of different sizes and bores. The proper cannon, I presume, is a 48 pounder, and is so named from its being made according to that *canon* or standard. Whence *canon* and *cannon* appear to be the same words.

Cant and Chant. Both from the Latin *cantus*, *cant* being a whining tone used by the Puritans, and to *chant* having only the *c* softened, as is plain from *descant*; so from *cantaria* comes *chantry*; and we have both *inchantment* and *incantation*. V. Chattel, above.

Cord and Chord. *Chord*, from Latin *chorda*, is the string of a musical instrument, and a *cord* is any band or string; both evidently the same.

Chanon and Canon, *Canonici*; so called because they lived under or according to a certain rule or *canon*. Chanons were a stricter sort of canons, *regulars* as they were styled, and that is the whole difference. V. Chattel, above.

Canal, Channel, Kennel. From Latin *canalis* the French have *canal*, which we have adopted; the two latter are the effects of pronunciation. As to *c* soft, we have *chaste* from *castus*, *cheese* from *caseus*, &c. V. Chattel, above.

Draw and Drain. As in the north they say *dra* for *draw*, one can hardly doubt the sameness of these two words.

To dally, and to delay. Since to dally means to trifle, and consequently to delay, one has grounds to suspect both are the French *deleyer*, and have no other difference but what arises from pronunciation.

A Dab and Adept. The first, which signifies a person expert in any thing, is evidently a corruption of the second.

Dike and Ditch. The first is provincial for the second; whence a small brook in the north is called *a dike*, and there are twenty instances in those parts of *ch* or *tch* being turned into *k* or *ck*. V. Powch, [below,] and Stink, and Stark, and Seek. *Dig* is probably the root.

Defile and Defowl. They both mean to deflower a virgin. Hence *undefowled*, Caxton, Legend. fol. 338. So that *file*, whence *filth*, is the same with *foul*.

Estate and Estade; both from *etat* of the French, who now have dropped the *s*.

To flit, to remove; Flight, *fuga*. I take the former to be only the short or quick pronunciation of the latter, and that both come from to *fly*.

To fell wood or timber, i. e. to *fall* it, since they call it commonly a *fall of timber*. So that to *fell* and to *fall* are the same.

To flea and flay. To flea is to strip off the skin, whence *fleece*; and to flay is the same, as appears from the Bible.

Flour, simila; Flower, flos. There is no difference in these, though it may be proper to vary them in writing, as flour is the flower or best part of the corn. In Fabian, fol. xviii. 6. *flower* is written *floure*.

Fusty, Foisty, and Fist. Two first are found in Dr. Johnson, and *fist* is in Littleton; all come from French *fuste*.

Fraughted, Freight, Fraught. The first, which occurs in Finett, p. 238, is plainly the same as the second; and the third is as evidently contracted from the first.

Gate and Gait. Gate comes from the Dutch *get*, or Saxon *geat*, *get*, *gate*, and signifies an entrance, road, town, street, manner of walking, &c. and thence, very naturally, the air, mien, or port, of a person; the *incessus*, as Virgil terms it. But now some affect to write *gait* in this latter sense, as Shakespeare and others; by which means *gait* has gotten into Dr. Johnson's Dictionary. I am of opinion, however, that there is no difference between *gate* and *gait*, or, in other words, that there is really no such word as *gait*. In Milton, I am sure, *gate* has the sense of air or mien in several places, as iv. 870. vii. 411. ix. 389. xi. 230. In short, *gate*, amongst its other uses, signifies a person's manner; and Hampole, MS. at Lincoln, p. 176, applies it for *guise* or *manner*, when he says *thus gates*, for *on this manner*. So Chaucer also uses it; see the Glossary. It is worth noting, that the Dutch and Saxon, whence we have our *gate*, know nothing of any such orthography as *gait*.

Guard and Ward. First is the French orthography, second the English; and both modes have been followed, the former having been appropriated to some purposes, as the latter has to others; but they are apparently the self-same words.

Guise, Wise, Ous. First is the French form, second the English; for wise is the same in sense as *otherwise*, *leastwise*, &c. as the French *guise*. As to *ous*, the termination in *righteous*, it is a mere corruption of *wise*; for in Hall, Richard III. folio 26, you have *rightwise*; and in the Dance of Machabree, fol. 222 and 225, *rightwisness*: and so *Erudition of a Christian Man*, p. 15. Caxton, Mirrour, cap. 9. and III. cap. 12. Rightwessly occurs also in Gunton, p. 52.

Great, magnus; Groat, four-pence; grotes, oats when the outer hull is taken off: these are all the same. There is an

ellipsis in *groat*, penny being understood : the whole would be *great-penny*. *Grotes* means plainly great meal, in respect of the smaller or ground meal; in the north they are pronounced *greats* or *grates*, which shews the etymon clearly.

To hunt and to haunt. *To hunt about* is so near a kin to *haunting a place*, that one has reason to esteem them the same.

Harris and Harrison. As John Harris is no other than John Harry's, an elliptical manner of speaking for *John Harry's* son, the two names Harris and Harrison are consequently the same; as also are Williams and Williamson, Roberts and Robertson, &c.

John, Johannes; Jone, Johanna. As these are the same names, one masculine, the other feminine, the *o* ought to be long in both, and *h* to be inserted or omitted in both, and the *e* in the woman's name should be retained to denote the sex. St. John's is pronounced at London St. Jones's, and in Lancashire they currently say Jone for John.

Jane and Joane. Mr. Camden, in Remains, p. 98, says, that 32 Eliz. it was agreed by the Court of King's Bench, that *Jane* was the same as *Joane*.

Kill, quell, and quail. All the words are found in an active sense in Dr. Johnson and Littleton; but they are clearly the same, *kill* being the modernization of *quell*, by adopting the French pronunciation of *qu*, and consequently very justly deduced by Dr. Johnson from the Saxon *cwellan*. Indeed, at this time, to *quell* does not seem to imply, in our ideas, so much as *kill*, but formerly it did. Macbeth I. 7. Obs. on Macbeth, p. 24. Camden's Remains, p. 65. *Man-queller* is a ruffian, a bravo, an assassin, Speed, Hist. p. 300. Erudition of Christian Man, p. 148.—Quail is not only used actively, but the sense of it accords well with our modern notion of *to quell*, and Dr. Johnson gives it accordingly the same etymology.

Knit, knot, net. See the proeme.

Knap, knop, knob, nab, nob. All these, which signify protuberances, as also a small mount, come from British *cnap*, and must be reputed the same.

Kind and akin. As *akin* means of the same race or *kind*, one is led to imagine that *kin* and *kind* may be the same word, the *i* in one case being pronounced short, and in the other long, just as some say wynd, and others wind.

Latter, later; last, latest. The two first are comparatives of *late*, and the two last, superlatives of the same; therefore there is no other difference than what use and custom have made.

Lest and least. Here again is a variation without a difference; for if *lest* be now used for the Latin particle, *ne*, *least* was formerly as often used; and so, if it may be rendered by *quo minus*, the English *least* seems to answer the more fully to this. I take *least* to be a corruption of *lest*, this being a more natural superlative of *little*, and best corresponding with the Saxon *læst*.

Lust and list. As to *lust* sometimes occurs in a good sense, I have no doubt these are the same words.

Links, lings, and ings. Grounds in some places called *lings* and *ings* are in others named *links*, by a quick or thin pronunciation of *g*. Vid. *Rank* below. *Lings* perhaps may be the same again as *Les inges*, the word *inge* occurring in Dr. Johnson, as also in Dr. Thornton and Mr. Thoresby.

Leash and lashed. A *leash* is a band or string, particularly a leather thong, by which a falconer holds his hawk, and a courser leads his greyhound. *Lashed*, therefore, when one thing is bound and fastened to another by tying, may be *leashed*. A *leash of greyhounds* are, again, as many as are commonly led by one string, viz. three; and from thence a *leash* comes to signify that number either of birds or animals.

To low and bellow. Spoken of cows. *Be* in the latter is only an unmeaning Saxon prefix.

Manquell, mangle. The first not only means to *murder*, (see *kill* above,) but also, as appears from Hall, Edw. IV. fol. 221, b. to mangle, whence I have a suspicion that *mangle* is in fact the same word.

Moan, mourn. These are so near akin both in sense and sound, that I greatly suspect them to be the same words, varying only in pronunciation.

A mass and a mess. A *masse* from French *masse*, is a heap or pile of any thing; and a *mess* of victuals or pottage is as much as is collected together for one or more persons. When people swear *by the mass*, they commonly say *by mess*.

Many and meiny. The latter denotes a company, a retinue: and *many* is a substantive in Lowth's Gram. p. 26. Are they not the same?

Mow, mouth. To make mows, and to make mouths, are equivalent; so that *mow* and *mouth* are the same. I have often seen Portsmouth written *Portsmue*. Indeed, the French word *mouë* signifies mouth; and they have the phrase *faire la mouë*.

Mount and Mound are apparently the same.

Near and nigher. *Nigh* was formerly written *neigh* or *negh*, whence we have *neighbour*. Hence came the compa-

parative *negher* contracted to *near*. Near and nigher are therefore clearly the same; and so when we say *nearer*, it is really a comparison compared, and as much a solecism, though so common, as *worser*. That *near* is a comparative appears from the expressions *never the near*, and *nere and nere*, the first in Sir Thomas More, p. iv. 2d in Dr. Percy's Songs, p. 88.

Not, nought. The last is *ne ought* by crasis, and was anciently written *noght*, of which we have made *not*.

Of and Off. We now write this particle sometimes *off*, but I suppose it is always the Latin, *a*, *de*, or *ex*, i. e. *of*, and that it is every way as proper to say *cut of*, *excisus*, as *cut off*. Math. x. 14. "Shake off the dust of your feet," Gr. ἐκλινάξατε τὸν κονιορτὸν τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν; where the preposition *ex* or *of* is evidently in composition. The Vulgate, whence Wickliffe's version was made, has "*excute pulverem de pedibus vestris*," which Wickliffe renders *sprenge off*, whereas, Cranmer's Bible gives it, *shake off*, and so the Rhemish Testament.

Owe, own, ought. As *owe* is used for *own*, i. e. to claim, Acts xxi. 11. Johnson, Obs. on Shakespeare, Macbeth, &c. we can be sure they are the same words. *Ought* comes from *owe* too, but from a different sense of it, viz. *debere*.

A *pound* for cattle, whence hog's-pound; a *pond*, a stew-pan. These appear to be all the same, *pound* and *pond*, coming from to pin, or inclose. When people say a *stew-pan*, meaning a smaller kind of pond, it is evidently a corruption of stew-pond.

A person, a particular man or woman; a parson, a parish-priest. These are clearly the same, though the latter is appropriated to the clergy, as is evident from the Latin word used on the occasion, viz. *Persona*, i. e. *Persona Ecclesiæ*. Thomas More, in his Life of Richard III. writes *person* for *parson* often: and the Scotch name is Macpherson.

Part and party. These are the same, notwithstanding the different orthography; for, whereas the lawyers now say, *between A. B. on one part, and between C. D. on the other part*, indentures of the age of James I. and later, generally run, "between A. B. on one partie, and between C. D. on the other partie." King Henry VIII. in Fuller's Worth. p. 198, says, *parties of beyond the sea*, for parts beyond the sea. In Hall, Edward V. fol. iv. 6. *north parties* means north parts, and so, fol. 6. b. On the other hand, in the Scotch phrase, *art and part*, *part* seems to mean *party*; and I presume there are few cases wherein these words may not be counterchanged.

Peck and pick. They say in Kent, speaking of a fowl, *it picks*, which shews these words to be the same. Hence pick-axe.

Pity and piety. As our word *pity*, in the sense of charity and compassion, comes from the Latin *pietas*, this and *piety* must be the same. Charity is indeed an act of piety, and certain charitable funds abroad are actually termed *mounts of piety*. *Pittance*, again, which is a charitable addition to the convent's table, is *pietancia* in Latin.

Puny, puisney, pony. Puny is small or diminutive, from French *puisné*, a word retained in the same form when we write *puisné judge*. I am much mistaken if *pony*, by which we mean a *small horse*, be not a slight corruption of the same by changing the vowel.

Pilarean, i. e. pelerin, and pilgrim. The first is the French term, the second the English.

Poison and potion. As *poison* is the Latin *potio*, though we have gotten it more immediately from the French, poison and potion must be the same words. It is not uncommon for a general word to become specific.

Powch and poke. Glos. ad X. Scriptores, v. Powchius, and see *Dike* above.

Quell. Vide Kill.

Quail. Vide Kill.

To quit, to relinquish; quiet, at rest. No difference here; to quit claim, is *quietum clamare*; and to *acquit*, *acquietare*, is to make a person quiet or at ease, in respect of any demand you may have upon him.

Queen, regina; Quean, a whore, a wheen-cat, a female cat, in the north. Mr. Ray, explaining the last word, observes, "that *queen* was used by the Saxons to signify the female sex, appears in that *queen fugol* was used for a hen fowl." North country Words, p. 53. Thus, as queen means a female, it has been abusively applied to a whore, as wench also has; for I make no doubt but *queen* and *quean* are the same words. *Given*, in British, the feminine of *guyenn*, means *fair or beautiful*.

Quail, qualm, qualmish, squeamish. The last word appears only in the form of an adjective, and seems to be the same as *qualmish*, by a corrupt pronunciation: this plainly comes from *qualm*, as this probably derives from the verb *to quail*, for which see above in *kill*.

Rank and range. These, whether substantives or verbs, appear to be the same words, varied in speech and pronunciation. Vide Links, above.

Ravish is *ravage* in the book of psalms.

Rops, ropes. *Rops* are so called from their length and similitude to ropes, as is plain from our calling the guts of Woodcocks and Snipes *ropes*.

Robert, Rotbert, and Rupert, are the same names. Wood's Hist. and Ant. p. 81; Tanner's Bibl. p. 345; Thoresby, p. 350.

Rodolph, Radulph, Randolph, Ranulph, Ralph. These, I presume, are all the same. In Wood, Hist. Ant. p. 72, Coleberg is called Rodolphus, and p. 85, Radulphus.

Rohais, in Lat. Rohesia; Hawise, in Lat. Hawisia; Avise or Avice, in Lat. Avicia; appear to be the same name. Hawise and Avise being only the latter syllable of the first name, used in the way of familiarity or endearment. Thus we now say *Mun* for Edmund, *Than* for Jonathan.

Ramp, romp, rawm. A lion is *rampant* when reared as if going to fight; and *to romp*, is to play rudely and boisterously. A wall is said to *ramp*, when it rises from the level, and is the French *ramper*, to climb or mount. Hence also *to rawm*, which a dog is said to do when he either fawns upon you, or stretches himself to take victuals placed high on a shelf.

Rout and rut. In *rutting* time, bucks keep a continual *routing* or bellowing, whence it is obvious to imagine the two words to be the same.

Rout, road, rota, rut. *Rout* is *road*, and *road* is *rout*; so that these are plainly the same words. *By rote* means by course, in a direct road, as when a thing is gotten by heart, without knowing or understanding the meaning of it; and therefore seems to signify *by road*, or *by rout*. *Rut*, at first, I imagine, was *cart-rut*, i. e. rout or track, and afterwards *rut*, *per se*.

Roll and row; to roll and to row. A *roll* is in fact a *row*, and is sometimes pronounced *row*, whence we have both *rigmanroll* and *rigmanrow*. As to *roll*, and *to row*; the *l* and *ll* are very commonly omitted in pronunciation in the north. See Glossary to Douglas's Virgil, v. Rowit, where, however, the author is mistaken in talking of *w* and *ll* being alike in the MS. as pronunciation is the sole cause.

Rattle and ruttle. Ruttle is that noise people make in the throat when they breathe with difficulty, especially when dying; and I take it to be the same word with *rattle*. In Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 355, it is called *rattling*.

Reeme and rime. The first signifies to weep in Cheshire; the second is the name of the white frost, in Kent, that adheres to the trees (in Derbyshire called *Ime*); query, therefore, if not the same word?

A set of horses, china, &c. A suit of clothes, armour, &c. I regard these as the same word, and both from French *suite*. This seems to be apparent from the orthography of the latter, and the former may be a corruption of it.

To split, to splint or splinter. These I conceive to be the same, since, in the Life of the Duke of Newcastle, to *splint* means to *split*.

Souce and sauce. As the first is a kind of pickle, it may be thought a species of the latter.

A shed, a covered place. A shade, the same. The first seems to be only a short or quick pronunciation of the latter.

To swill, to swallow. As the first means to drink lustily, it appears to be a cant-word for swallow.

Set and sit. The first is a verb active, the second a verb neuter; but I esteem them the same originally, though I approve of the present mode of differencing them. In Romance of St. Degaré, verse 679, *sett* means *sat*.

He sett hym down on the Deyse.

Seek and beseech. *Be* is often an unmeaning prefix in our language, as it was in the Saxon. These words are otherwise the same, as is plain from the imperfect tenses *sought* and *besought*. *Ch* and *k* are perpetually substituted one for another; and it is remarkable that *seek*, in Lancashire, is pronounced *seech*. Vide Dike *above*.

Sleight and slight. First is a substantive, the second an adjective. Harsnet against Darrel, p. 127, has *sleight*; in Dodsley's Plays, V. p. 223, to *sleighten*, is to despise; and Ephes. IV. 14. *sleight* is the translation of *Κυβισα*, and consequently is used in the same sense as *slight*, when we say *slight of hand*; and no doubt, by whatever means the *e* has crept in, the words are the same, and are both derived from the verb *sly*.

Strait and streight. Some make a difference between these, using *strait* for *directus*, and *streight* for *arctus*, for which, however, I think, there is no good foundation. Isaiah xl. 3. you have *make streight*, and Matth. vii. 13. what is called *straight* is, v. 14. *strait*.

Stark and starch. It is the property of starch to stiffen linen, and I suspect that to be *stark* or stiff after riding, or other exercise, is the same word with *starch*, or vice versa. V. Dike, *above*.

Stink, and stinch or stench. There can be no difference between these but what arises from pronunciation. V. Dike, *above*. Fairfax, x. 61. xviii. 84. has *stinch*; in the first

of these places the edit. of 1749 has *stench*, *malè*; *stinch* being the old word for *stench*.

Son and sun. The former in Saxon is *sunu*, and the latter was formerly often written *sonna*; so that there is no real difference between the words, though a diversity must needs be useful. The sun is termed *son* in Hearne, Cur. Disc. p. 184. and in Willis's Cathedrals, ii. p. 9. the name of *Monson* is thus given.

Lunam cum Phœbo jungito, nomen habes. Vide omnino Baxteri Gloss. p. 36, 145.

See, *sedes*; sea, *mare*. Carleton, p. 58. 73. alibi, writes the first *sea*, as do Cavendish and Speed. In Ames, p. 8. *sea* is written *see*; as also in Hall, Skelton; and Sir Thomas More, and in the two latter we have *se*. The sea is in fact *aquarum sedes*, or place, as it is expressed Gen. i. 9.

Sup and soup. Bishop Wilkins, On the Moon, p. 238, uses *soop*, for *sup*, whence it should seem that a *soop*, a liquid to be supped, is the same as *sup*, both from French *soup*.

Spill and spoil. The first is used for the latter in Kent; hence "better one house fill'd than two spill'd:" Ray, p. 47. *Spilling* is now confined to liquids, but still what is shed is effectually *spoiled*.

Sound and swoon. *Sound* occurs for *swoon* in Skelton, and I think is the same word; thus, to *swoon*, imperfect *swooned*, and, *d* inserted *euphoniæ gratia*, swooned; after which the present, swoond or sound, would soon be formed. Thus from drown, drowned, drowneded, comes the northern word to drown.

Suet and sweat. As what we copiously perspire passes under the name of sweat, and is of a greasy unctuous nature, one has reason to think it the same word with *suet*, though this is a dissyllable.

Stew-pan. V. Pound.

Scot, as Romescot, scot and lot. Shot, proportion of a payment. Sheet of lead, copper, &c. All these are the Saxon *sceat*.

Say and saw. As say is a substantive as well as a verb, it is obvious to imagine that *saw*, in the sense of a saying or proverb, may be the same word.

Shell and shale. These appear to be the French *ecaille*.

Springe and spring. No difference probably here, since the *springes* for woodcocks (Pennant 2d Tour, p. 32.) operate, I presume, by a *spring*.

Story and History differ only a little in sense.

Then, adverb of time. Than a particle used in compari-

son. In Latin *quam*. The distinction of these is doubtless extremely useful, as tending to facilitate the sense of an author to a reader. The distinction, however, is but of late, since in our older writers *then* is promiscuously used for *than*, which shews it to be originally the same word. I need not quote for this.

This and thus. *This* was formerly used for *thus*, as Skelton, p. 13, 115, alibi. Hall in Rich. III. f. 28, 29. Sir Tho. More, p. 3. Which shews, that though it may be useful that a distinction should be made between these words, yet originally they were the same.

Troth and Truth both have place in our dictionaries, but seem to be the same, from Saxon, *treoth*, or *treotha*.

Trow and trough. A swine-trow is called in the north a swine-trough: the difference consists in pronunciation, *gh*, being sometimes quiescent, and sometimes having the power of *ff*.

Tend is the tail or final syllable of *attend*, and means the same; it is spoken *tent* in the north, where it signifies to *hinder* or *prevent*, by watching, and observing; so that it is the same word as *tend*, for which see Dr. Johnson. V. Vend. V. Brand.

Task and tax. *Task* is an imposition as *tax* is. Rossus, p. 55. explains *tallagium* by *task*; whence they appear to be the same.

Tone and tune. *Ton* is French for *tune*; they are consequently the same words, Life of Lord Clarendon, p. 64, 65.

Treacle and theriacal. From *θηε* a beast, or venomous beast, comes *θηερακος* and theriacal, a medicine to expel poison, which since has been corrupted into *treacle*. This at present generally signifies *molasses*, but in the apothecary's shop it still retains its primitive sense, as in *Venice-treacle*.

Unloose and loose. First has the sense of the second. Mark i. 7. Luke iii. 16. John i. 27. Some have questioned the propriety of this, the prefix *un* seeming to carry an opposite sense to what the simple word bears, as in *tying* and *untying*, *drawing* and *undrawing*, &c. but *un* in the present case is a mere pleonasm; *on* among the Saxons, to which *un* is here equivalent, being often used epitiatively, or rather superfluously and without, any intention of altering the meaning of the word.

Vend and vent. Both are in Johnson, but are unquestionably the same. V. Tend.

Weal and wealth. These are the same words: substan-

tives of the adjective *well*; hence some will say *common-weal*, others *common-wealth*.

Wheen-cat. V. Queen.

I am, Sir, yours,

1778, *July, Aug. Sept. and Oct.*

T. Row.

LXVIII. Criticism on Gray's Bard.

MR. URBAN,

IN reading over very lately the finest ode in the world, the Welsh Bard of Gray, I was struck with a trifling inaccuracy of expression, which I could not account for to my own satisfaction. After a series of the most alarming imprecations, which had impressed terror and dismay on the minds of the bravest officers in Edward's army, the Bard is suddenly seized with prophetic enthusiasm, and in the sublime strains of rapture foretels the future glory of the Tudor race of kings. The royal form of Elizabeth seems to arise before his strong and creative imagination, and immediately an illustrious train of heroes and statesmen,

“In bearded majesty appear.”

Had the poet spoken in his own character, this expression of “bearded majesty” would certainly have had great force and propriety; but surely the short and curled beards generally worn in England about two hundred years ago, could not be thought strikingly expressive of dignity by the venerable Bard, whose own loose beard, according to the lively and picturesque description which had just before been given us of his dress and attitude,

“Stream'd like a meteor to the troubled air.”

I will even venture to assert, that this great difference in the appearance of the worthies of Elizabeth's reign would rather have disgusted the aged prophet, if such a trivial circumstance could in the least have engaged the attention of a man under the complicated agitations of grief, revenge, and despair. In the earlier and less refined ages, any diminution or alteration in this emblematic ornament of the human face was beheld with detestation, and guarded against with the most vigilant jealousy. During the residence of Charles of Sweden at Bender, he had so much prejudiced the Janissaries in his favour by his liberality, that they

openly mutinied against their general, when commanded to storm the Swedish camp, till that daring madman at once alienated their affections, by telling their envoys he would trim their beards, unless they retired from his entrenchments.

1779, Jan.

LXIX. On the word *Bleak*.

MR. URBAN,

IT is but a small matter I am going to mention, but, as it relates to our own language, some, perhaps, may think it of consequence: *bleak* signifies "chill or cold," as when we say *a bleak wind*, *a bleak situation*, and so the song,

"Cold and raw the north did blow,
Bleak in the morning early," &c.

and it is generally thought that *Black-Heath** is so denominated from the *bleakness* of that elevated piece of ground; in which case, *black* is a corruption of *bleak*. Now, on the other hand, *bleak* appears to mean *black*, *niger*, from the Saxon *blac* and *blæc*; for the north-west wind, in Perigord, is called, according to Mons. Menage,† *vent negre*, and indeed this quarter is generally *black*, and the wind blowing from thence dry, and black, and cold: so that *black*, and *bleak*, seem to be the same words; and I know not whether *bleak*, in the song, may not mean *black*, as *cold* is mentioned in the first line; this sense of *bleak*, however, is not noted in our dictionaries.

Yours,

1780, Jan.

T. Row.

* This case is probably the same with *Black-Hamilton*, a place well known to gentlemen of the turf.

† Menage, *Origine de la Langue Francoise*, V. Bis.

LXX. Nine Love at Cards, or other Games, explained.

I HAVE often been asked the occasion or original, when at cards of *six love*, or *nine love*, which is as much as to say, as to the sense and meaning of the expression, *six to none*, or *nine to none*; and indeed there is, I apprehend, some difficulty in it, since our dictionaries and glossaries, so far as I am acquainted with them, do not attempt to illustrate it. Thus, in the English part of Boyer's French Dictionary, the phrase is put down and explained, but we are not told *how*, or *by what means*, *six love* comes to signify *six to nothing*.

Now, Sir, I conceive the expression may have come to us either from Scotland or Holland. *Luff*, in old Scotch, is the hand;* so that *six luff* will mean *six in hand*, or more than the adversary, when he has nothing upon his score. So again, *loaf* in Dutch,† whence we have our word *loof*, and *to loof*, is the weather gage; and in this case *six loof* will imply six upon the weather gage, or to advantage, as really it is, when the antagonist is nothing. You, and your readers, Mr. Urban, may choose which of these illustrations you please, at least till a more plausible one shall be offered.

Yours, &c.

1780, July.

T. Row.

LXXI. Theobald and Pope.

MR. URBAN,

THEOBALD, the professed rival of Pope in the editorship of Shakespeare, and, probably, for *this* reason the *original* hero of the Dunciad, by the escape of one unlucky line,

“None but himself can be his parallel,”

gave that wicked wit a real advantage over him, and justly exposed himself to the keenest severity of his satire. And yet, indefensible as palpable absurdity most assuredly is, *that* just now quoted, might have pleaded the authority of Seneca; in whose “*Hercules Furens*” we have the following very extraordinary passage:

* Gloss. to Douglas's Virgil.

† Sewel's Dutch Dictionary.

—quæris Alcιδæ parem?

Nemo est nisi ipse: bella jam secum gerat.

It hence appears (what has not, I think, been remarked before), that the celebrated line of Theobald, the *Ludus jocusque Criticorum*,* had, after all, only the *secondary merit* of being a literal translation.

Hot Wells, Bristol, Nov. 18.

ÆNEINASENSIS.

1780, Nov.

LXXII. An Emendation of a Passage in Virgil.

MR. URBAN,

THOUGH Virgil's style be justly considered as the standard in Latin poesy, and to arraign him in that respect, would be to arraign one's own judgment,

“nec detrachere ausim—

Herentem multa capiti cum laude coronam”—

Hor.

yet several errors have been rationally presumed to be introduced into his works, through the ignorance or the negligence of the ancient librarians. Some of these have been pointed out by the critics, and some perhaps remain uncorrected even to this day.

One, and that a gross one, if I am not mistaken, occurs in the 449th line of the first *Æneid*. But to save the reader, who may be as corpulent and indolent as myself, the fatigue of heaving himself into that unfrequented apartment, his study, for the original, and that I may be better understood, I will lay the whole passage before him:

Lucus in urbe fuit media, lætissimus umbræ,
Quo primum, jactati undis et turbine, Pœni
Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi; nam sic fore bello
Egregiam, et facilem victu per sæcula gentem.

Now the word which appears to me exceptionable in this

* See the “Art of sinking in Poetry.”

passage, is the conjunction in the last line, which, though a single word, and a small one too, does materially affect the sense of the clause it is part of, but much to its prejudice, in my humble opinion; making it necessary that the four following words should be rendered "eternally renowned," as most expositors agree.*

But I apprehend it to be unworthy that accuracy which characterizes Virgil, to convey that idea in terms so equivocal, not to say ungrammatical; especially as it might have been done with more precision by the alteration of one word, and the inversion of the order of two more, thus, *et facilem per sæcula vivere gentem*: neither do I judge it reasonable to imagine, that Virgil, at the penning of this passage, had the fame of the Carthaginians in contemplation, but that of the Romans; and on this presumption I read the last line, after the first word, not *et*, but *haud facilem victu per sæcula gentem*: and render it, as *haud* is a more emphatical negative particle than *non*, very difficult to be subdued, for some centuries of years; and then it relates, by anticipation, a memorable circumstance in the history of the Carthaginian state, viz. that its power was great and formidable for some ages, as its wars in Sicily, Spain, and elsewhere, undeniably demonstrate; particularly that utmost effort of its power in its wars with the Romans; the first of which lasted twenty-four years, the second eighteen, and the third four years.

Add to this, that the emendation I propose, being admitted, Virgil, (who rarely let slip a fair opportunity of introducing into his poem the shining part of the Roman history) pays the Romans a very fine compliment; for by representing the Carthaginians as very difficultly subdued, he implicitly extols the power of the Romans, who, before his time, had subdued them.

But this emendation is not supported by any MS. True, as far as I know. Yet, as it renders the passage more consonant to Virgil's probable design, more beautiful, more determinate in its sense, not to say more classical, its novelty can rationally be no obstacle to its reception. More especially as the ancients, for *haud* or *haut*, frequently wrote *aut*; which might easily be corrupted, first into *at*, and then into *et*.

[* *Aliter Heynius hunc locum interpretatur: "Facile victu, hoc est, quæ habitura esset victum facilem et expeditum, annonam affluentem ex agrorum ubertate et cultu."* E.]

In further support of the alteration proposed, I might observe, that the figure, asyndeton, supersedes the necessity of a conjunction in the passage under consideration. But as I am writing to the literati, it would be a needless labour.

To make the emendation I offer more intelligible, I beg leave, (though I am prolix, if not tedious, already,) to add a paraphrase on a passage it is part of.

Within the city which Elisa made,
A lofty grove diffus'd a pleasing shade.
There the Phœnicians, as they dug the ground,
A horse's head, by Juno's favour, found :
Nor that unmeaning ; the prognostic shew'd
They would be brave, and hard to be subdu'd.

— Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti : si non, his utere mecum.

Hor.

J. LEWIS.

Ludlow, Free-School, Oct. 26, 1780.

P. S. Alluding to the wars between the Carthaginians and Romans, Silius Italicus thus harmoniously and sublimely sings :

Gens Cadmæa super regno certamina movit,
Quæsitumque diu qua tandem poneret arce
Terrarum Fortuna caput.—

1780, Nov.

LXXIII. Pope's Epitaph on Gay borrowed.—Hammond's Elegies.

MR. URBAN,

THE quaintness of the concluding line of Pope's Epitaph on Gay ;

—That the worthy and the good may say,
Striking their pensive bosoms, *here lies GAY*,

has been deservedly censured ; but the thought, whether good or bad, was not his own. Dr. Warton, in the *Adventurer*, No. 63, supposes that it was copied from an old Latin Elegy on Henry Prince of Wales ; but I have no doubt.

that the following lines of Crashaw (a favourite author of Pope's) furnished him with this puerile conceit :

Enough;—if thou canst, pass on,
For now, alas! not in this stone,
Passenger, whoe'er thou art,
Is he entomb'd, *but in thy heart.*

I believe it is not generally known, that the eulogium on the Hon. Simon Harcourt :

Who ne'er knew joy but friendship might divide,
Or gave his father grief but when he died,

is likewise stolen from some one of the following epitaphs.

— Complete in all but days, resign'd her breath,
Who never disobey'd but in her death.

In St. Mary Magdalen's, Bermondsey.

Belov'd, admir'd, and lost, thy parents' pride,
Who never gav'st them grief but when you died.

On Miss Lucy Hippesley, in St. Thomas's
Church, Salisbury.

“ LUCIA JULIA PRISCA
Vixit annos XXVI.
Nihil unquam peccavit
Nisi quod mortua est.”

I do not know the exact date of the two English epitaphs above quoted, perhaps therefore they may have been borrowed from Pope; but the Latin one he might have found in Montfaucon's Antiquities.

Before I conclude, let me add a word or two more on the subject of imitation. Dr. Johnson, in his late admirable Lives of the English Poets, speaking of Mr. Hammond, observes, that his elegies, “ have neither passion, nature, nor manners.” They certainly have neither of the latter; and whatever of the former they contain is the passion of a Roman, not of an Englishman. It is surprising, that the cause of this defect escaped this classical and most judicious critic. In short, these elegies are almost all, if not translations, very close imitations, of Tibullus. In the whole number there are but four original. Of this any one may be convinced who will take the trouble to compare these poems with those of the Roman knight. For the satisfaction of your classical readers, I will subjoin a list of those elegies which Hammond has copied.

HAMMOND.

El. 1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

11.

12.

13.

TIBULLUS.

Lib. II. El. IV. 1—38.

Lib. II. El. VI.

Lib. II. El. IV. 39—50.

Lib. III. El. V.

Lib. I. El. II.

Lib. II. El. VII.

Lib. II. El. III.

Lib. III. El. III.

Lib. III. El. II.

{ Lib. I. El. XI.

{ Lib. I. El. I. 45—52.

Lib. III. El. VII.

{ Lib. I. El. I.

{ Lib. I. El. V. 31—34.

By the foregoing table the reader will observe, that of Hammond's Elegies, the 10th, 14th, 15th, and 16th, alone appear to have been unborrowed. It is, however, but just to add, that this unfortunate and amiable poet, though he had no pretensions to the title of an original writer, must be acknowledged to have been a very harmonious and elegant versifier.

Yours, &c.

1781, *Aug.*

U. A. F.

LXXIV. Addition to Gray's Church-yard Elegy.

MR. URBAN,

THE late Mr. Edwards, author of the *Canons of Criticism*, who, though an old bachelor, was more attentive to the fair sex than the Pindaric Mr. Gray, endeavoured to supply what he thought a defect in the admired Church-yard Elegy, by adding the two following stanzas (which I do not remember to have seen in print) immediately after

‘ Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood.’

Some lovely fair, whose unaffected charms
Shone with attraction to herself unknown,
Whose beauty might have blest a monarch's arms,
And virtue cast a lustre on the throne :

That humble beauty warm'd an honest heart,
 And chear'd the labours of a faithful spouse:
 That virtue form'd, for every decent part,
 The healthful offspring that adorn'd their house.

1782, *March.*

A. B.

LXXV. Origin of the Word *Firm*.

MR. URBAN,

PLEASE to inform your Nottinghamshire Correspondent, who desires to know the etymology of the word *Firm*, that it is originally Spanish, and perhaps is no where else used in the sense ascribed to it, but by them and the English. It is obvious that language, in its progress, admits of some variation in its meaning, and is either enlarged or contracted by accident. The word, in the original, signifies nothing more than *subscription*, or *signing*. So Nebrissensis explains the word, *Firma de Escritura*, *Subscriptio*, *Signatio*. *Firmar* *Escritura*, *Subscribo*, *Signo*. In this sense it is constantly used by Cervantes, and the several places are pointed out in the first Indice of the edition of 1781, and is explained in the *Annotaciones*.—Antwerp having been for a long time under the dominion of the Spaniards, and a great staple of commerce, it is natural to suppose that we may have adopted it from thence. As it may be proper for a trading company to have one signature, it may have been confined to such. The Portuguese affix the same meaning to the word with their neighbours. But it occurs not in the Italian or French. Franciosini, in his Dictionary, renders *Firma*, *La Sottoscrizione di propria mano*. *Sobrino*, *Firma*, *Signature*. *Firmar*, *Signer*, *souscrire*.

Yours, &c.

1784, *March.*

A. B.

LXXVI. Observations on Warton's *Essay on Pope*.

MR. URBAN,

I SEND you some observations that occurred to me on reading the second volume of the *Essay on the Life and Writings of Pope*. Such as point out errors in that very

entertaining work, will, I doubt not, meet with pardon from the learned and candid author of it.

P. 10. Nor was the work impair'd by storms alone,
But felt th' approaches of too warm a sun;
For fame, impatient of extremes, decays
Not more by envy than excess of praise.

These lines are censured by the author of the Essay, as containing a puerile and far-fetched conceit: the allusion, however, seems suitable to the fanciful form of the poem. As all the circumstances of the imagery of the temple are emblematic of those that attend on fame; why may not heat and storm represent praise and envy? why may not the accidents, that affect the *rock of ice*, express those to which fame is exposed? Surely here is no vicious ornament or false thought.

P. 36. The author exerts a manly indignation against the puny efforts of Voltaire to depreciate the father of poetry. The quotation in the note from the Greek writer is apposite and well pointed against the uncandid critic of Homer and Shakespeare. The author is mistaken in supposing Dion Chrysostom to be a father of the Church; he was a sophist and heathen, and lived in the reign of Domitian; the name of the celebrated father was John Chrysostom.

P. 131. The accommodation of our senses to our condition is eloquently illustrated in a sermon of Bentley, at Boyle's lecture. There is so remarkable a resemblance of thought and expression between the poet and divine, that one is almost tempted to think, that Pope condescended to consult the writings of the *slashing* and satirised Bentley. That truly great man writes thus on the subject:—"If the eye were so acute, as to rival the finest microscopes, and to discern the smallest hair upon the leg of a gnat, it would be a curse and not a blessing to us; it would make all things appear rugged and deformed; the sight of our own selves would affright us: the smoothest skin would be set over with ragged scales and bristly hairs. And, besides, we could not see at one view above what is now the space of an inch, and it would take a considerable time to survey the then mountainous bulk of our own bodies.—So likewise if our sense of hearing were exalted proportionably to the former, what a miserable condition would mankind be in!—Whither could we retire from perpetual humming and buzzing? every breath of wind would incommode and disturb

us; we should have no quiet nor sleep in the silentest nights and most solitary places; and we must inevitably be stricken deaf or dead with the noise of a clap of thunder. And the like inconvenience would follow, if the sense of feeling were advanced, as the Atheist requires. How could we sustain the pressure of our clothes in such a condition; much less carry burthens and provide for the conveniences of life? We could not bear the assault of an insect, or a feather, or a puff of air, without pain. There are examples now of wounded persons, that have roared for anguish and torment at a discharge of ordnance, though at a very great distance; what insupportable torture then should we be under, when all the whole body would have the tenderness of a wound?" *Serm. on Acts xvii. 27. Part I.*

P. 141. All nature is but art, unknown to thee;
All chance, direction which thou canst not see.

Thomas Aquinas thus expresses the same thought:

Natura, potentia Dei; fortuna, voluntas.

P. 138. Let earth unbalanc'd from her orbit fly,
Planets and suns rush lawless thro' the sky;
Let ruling angels from their spheres be hurl'd,
Being on being wreck'd, and world on world;
Heaven's whole foundations to their centre nod,
And nature tremble to the throne of God.

The author of the essay hath frequently with great judgment introduced quotations from writers ancient and modern, in which the same doctrine with that of the poet is inculcated, though there may be no reason to suspect an imitation. It is indeed a pleasing and instructive employment to observe a similitude of thought in men of genius on important subjects, and to compare the various illustrations they have used to enforce resembling sentiments. Let me then be permitted to parallel the above sublime lines with the following passage from the venerable Hooker:

"Since the time that God did first proclaim the edicts of his law, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: 'he made a law for the rain; he gave his decree unto the sea, that the waters should not pass his commandment.' Now, if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether, though it were but for a while, the observation of her own laws; if those

principal and mother elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, should lose the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that heavenly arch, erected over our heads, should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen: if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were, through a languishing faintness, begin to stand, and to rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away, as children at the withered breasts of their mother, no longer able to yield them relief; what would become of man himself, whom these things do now all serve? See we not plainly, that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature, is the stay of the whole world?"—Hooker, *Ecc. Pol. B. 1. §. 3.*

P. 275. Shut, shut the door, good John, &c. &c.

I once had a transient view of a MS. in Pope's hand-writing; it contains hints, seminal thoughts, illustrations, and anecdotes, for occasional use. I recollect to have read in it the following anecdote of Sir Isaac Newton; it was versified, and I suppose intended for a place in the epistle to Arbuthnot. Sir Isaac being often interrupted by ignorant pretenders to the discovery of the longitude, ordered his porter to inquire of every stranger, who desired admission, whether he came about the longitude, and to exclude such as answered in the affirmative.—Two lines, as I recollect, ran thus:

Is it about the longitude you come?
The porter ask'd: Sir Isaac's not at home.

P. 305. I do not know, whether it has been yet observed that Addison's account of the English poets, is an imitation of Drayton's Epistle to Henry Reynolds, of poets and poesy.

P. 320. In a life of Pope, written by one Ayres, and published by Curll, I found the following advertisement.

"Daily Post of Friday, 14th of June, 1728.

"WHEREAS there has been a scandalous paper cried about the streets, under the title of "A Popp upon Pope,"

insinuating that I was whipped* in Ham Walks on Thursday last;—This is to give notice, that I did not stir out of my house at Twickenham, and that the same is a malicious and ill-grounded report.

“ALEXANDER POPE.”

This is a curious instance of the sore sensibility of the poet.

P. 324. The Plan of Middleton's Letter from Rome was taken from a work, published in 1675, by Joshua Stopford, B.D. entitled “Pagano-Papismus, or an exact parallel between Rome-Pagan and Rome-Christian in their doctrines and ceremonies.”

1784, *March*.

LXXVII. Bentham and Gray on Saxon and Gothic Architecture.

MR. URBAN, *Ely, April 17.*

HAVING lately observed Mr. Gray's Treatise on Gothic Architecture, and Mr. Bentham's Account of Saxon, Norman, and Gothic Architecture, frequently cited, and their notions and sentiments generally to coincide, nay oftentimes to be expressed in the very same words;—Mr. B. quite at a loss to account for these extraordinary circumstances, and how to discover the occasion of so remarkable a concurrence of sentiments, diction, and opinions, made all the inquiry he could to obtain a sight of Mr. Gray's Treatise abovementioned, but in vain. Supposing it therefore still to remain in MS. or, if printed, to have been communicated only to some of Mr. Gray's select friends, he was forced to give over the pursuit. At length, however, by means of your very useful and entertaining Magazine, he has been enabled to unravel the mystery.

Mr. Gray's Treatise, and Mr. Bentham's Account, it seems, are one and the same.

So says your correspondent S. E. in your Magazine for May, 1783, in his remarks on Mr. Ruben D'Moundt. “The

work in which Mr. Gray's very curious and judicious observations upon Gothic Architecture occur, is Mr. Bentham's *History of the Cathedral of Ely*, a book with which I am a good deal surprised Mr. R. D'Moundt should be unacquainted, who has exhibited so great a profusion of antiquarian reading. It is proper also that this gentleman should be informed, that Mr. Bentham had very little, if any, interference with the *Treatise on Architecture* inserted therein, and which alone has rendered it a most curious and valuable book."

After so peremptory an assertion, "That Mr. Bentham had very little, if any, interference, with the *Treatise on Architecture* inserted in his book," Mr. B. must think himself wanting in that regard he owes to truth, and to his own character, if he did not endeavour to clear up that matter, rectify the mistake, and vindicate himself from the charge of having been obliged to Mr. Gray for that *Treatise*, and publishing it as his own.

Had Mr. G. been the real author, Mr. B. certainly ought to have been a little more explicit in his acknowledgment of the favour; especially as it would have been no small recommendation of his book, to have informed the reader, that the *Treatise on Architecture* was composed by so celebrated and distinguished a writer as Mr. Gray.

It was sufficient to Mr. B. that Mr. G. approved of it, and that he furnished him with several hints, of which Mr. B. availed himself, and for which Mr. B. thought proper to make his grateful acknowledgment in his preface; there, indeed, in general terms; but the particulars will appear from Mr. Gray's letters to him inserted below.

The truth is, Mr. B. had written that *Treatise* long before he had the honour of any acquaintance with Mr. Gray; and it was that which first introduced him to Mr. G.

It may not be improper to observe, that when the first sheet of the *Introduction* was composed for the press in 1764, a proof of it was shewn (by a friend of Mr. B.) to Mr. G. the contents of which related to the first introduction of Christianity into this kingdom, and its progress, to the conversion of the Saxons, &c. This was thought by Mr. G. to have too slight a connection with the principal subject, the *History of the Church of Ely*. However Mr. B. was not informed of Gray's opinion till it was too late, and the sheet had been put to press.

Some time after (about the beginning of 1765), Mr. G. having expressed a desire to see the following sheets, Mr. B. then at Cambridge, waited on him at Pembroke Hall,

with six of them, and begged the favour of his remarks and correction; and this was the first time that Mr. B. had the pleasure of an hour's conversation on the subject with Mr. G. It happened fortunately that the two last sheets were composed, but not worked off, which gave Mr. B. an opportunity of inserting several additions hinted in Mr. Gray's letter, which he inclosed when he returned the sheets to Mr. B.

A transcript of Mr. Gray's letter to Mr. B. as it sets this matter in a clear light, and will, no doubt, be acceptable and entertaining to your readers, is here subjoined.

Superscribed,

“ To the Rev. Mr. Bentham.

“ Mr. Gray returns the papers and prints to Mr. Bentham, with many thanks for the sight of them.

“ Concludes, he has laid aside his intention of publishing the first four Sections of his Introduction, that contain the settlement and progress of Christianity among the Saxons: as (however curious and instructive in themselves) they certainly have too slight a connection with the subject in hand to make a part of the present work.

“ Has received much entertainment and information from his remarks on the state of Architecture among the Saxons, and thinks he has proved his point against the authority of Stow and Somner. The words of Eddius, Richard of Hexham, &c. must be everywhere cited in the original tongue, as the most accurate translation is in these cases not to be trusted: this Mr. B. has indeed commonly done in the MSS. but not everywhere.

“ P. 31. He says, the instances Sir C. Wren brings, were, *some of them at least*, undoubtedly erected after the Conquest. Sure they were all so without exception.

“ There is much probability in what he inserts with respect to the *New Norman mode* of building; though this is not, nor perhaps can be, made out with so much precision as the former point.

“ P. 35. Here, where the author is giving a compendious view of the peculiarities that distinguish the Saxon style, it might be mentioned, that they had no tabernacles (or niches and canopies), nor any statues to adorn their buildings on the outside, which are the principal grace of what is called the Gothic; the only exception that I can recollect, is a little figure of Bishop Herbert Losing over the north transept door at Norwich, which appears to be of that time; but this

is rather a mezzo-relievo than a statue, and it is well known, that they used reliefs sometimes with profusion, as in the Saxon gateway of the abbey at Bury, the gate of the Temple church at London, and the two gates at Ely, &c.

“The want of pinnacles, and of tracery in the vaults, is afterwards mentioned, but may as well be placed here too (in short), among the other characteristics.

“Escutcheons of arms are hardly, (if ever) seen in these fabrics, which are the most frequent of all decorations in after-times.

“P. 34. Besides the chevron work (or zig-zag moulding) so common, which is here mentioned, there was also,

“The *Billetted-moulding*, as if a cylinder should be cut into small pieces of equal length, and these stuck on alternately round the face of the arches, as in the choir at Peterborough, and at St. Cross, &c.

“The *Nail-head*, resembling the heads of great nails driven in at regular distances, as in the nave of old St. Paul's, and the great tower of Hereford, &c.

“The *Nebule*, a projection terminated by an undulating line, as under the upper range of windows, on the outside at Peterborough.

“Then to adorn their vast massive columns there was the *spiral-groove* winding round shafts, and the *net*, or *lozenge-work*, overspreading them; both of which appear at Durham, and the first in the undercroft at Canterbury.

“These few things are mentioned only, because Mr. Bentham's work is so nearly complete in this part, that one would wish it were quite so. His own observation may doubtless suggest to him many more peculiarities, which, however minute in appearance, are not contemptible, because they directly belong to his subject, and contribute to ascertain the age of an edifice at first sight. The great deficiency is from Henry the VIth's time to the Reformation, when the art was indeed at its height.

“P. 30. At York, under the choir, remains much of the old work, built by Archbishop Roger, of Bishop's-bridge, in Henry II'd's reign; the arches are but just pointed, and rise on short round pillars, whose capitals are adorned with animals and foliage.

“P. 37. Possibly the pointed arch may take its rise from those arcades we see in the early Norman (or Saxon) buildings on walls, where the wide semicircular arches cross and intersect each other, and form thereby at their intersection exactly a narrow and sharp pointed arch. In the wall south of the choir at St. Cross, is a facing of such wide, round,

interlaced arches by way of ornament to a flat vacant space; only so much of it as lies between the legs of the two neighbouring arches, where they cross each other, is pierced through the fabric, and forms a little range of long pointed windows. It is of King Stephen's time.

"P. 43. As Mr. B. has thought it proper to make a compliment to the *present set of Governors* in their respective churches; it were to be wished he would insert a little reflection on the rage of repairing, beautifying, whitewashing, painting, and gilding, and above all, the mixture of Greek (or Roman) ornaments in Gothic edifices. This well-meant fury has been and will be little less fatal to our ancient magnificent edifices, than the Reformation and the Civil Wars.

"Mr. G. would wish to be told (at Mr. Bentham's leisure) whether over the great pointed arches, on which the western tower at Ely rises, any thing like a semicircular curve appears in the stone work? and whether the screen (or rood-loft) with some part of the south-cross, may not possibly be a part of the more ancient church built by Abbot Simeon and Fitz-Gilbert?"

P. S. The foregoing letter is without date; but that will appear from the circumstances above related.

Yours, &c.

1784, *April*.

JAMES BENTHAM.

LXXVIII. *Anecdotes of Literature, by Dr. Johnson.*

MR. URBAN,

Dec. 26.

NO apology will be necessary either to yourself or to your learned readers, for introducing to their notice the following very curious anecdote in literary history, authenticated as it is by the introductory letter of my most respected and respectable friend Dr. Johnson. I will only observe, that it confirms (what, as far as it went, appears now very evident to be authentic) a memorandum which I communicated in your volume for 1781, whence it appears that the proposals for the *Ancient Universal History* were published Oct. 6, 1729; and that the authors of the first seven volumes were the gentlemen whose names

appear below*. The MS. of Mr. Swinton shall be presented to the curators of the Museum.

Yours, &c.

J. NICHOLS.

P.S. *Dec. 14.* The date to the above billet, and to Dr. Johnson's letter, will shew that, amidst the pangs of illness, the love of truth, and an attachment to the interests of literature, were still predominant. His letter, I may add, appears in public, not only by his permission, but by his express desire. And it may be matter of some exultation to Mr. Urban, whom Dr. Johnson always acknowledged to have been one of his earliest patrons, that the Gentleman's Magazines should have been by him selected as the repository of perhaps the last scrap he ever dictated for the press. That he had a considerable share in compiling the "Parliamentary Debates" in your early volumes, is well known, and will ever be an honour to his memory. Yet such was the goodness of his heart, that no longer ago than Tuesday last, the 7th of December, he declared to the writer of these lines, "that those debates were the only parts of his writings which then gave him any compunction; but that at the time he wrote them he had no conception he was imposing upon the world, though they were frequently written from very slender materials, and often from none at all, the mere coinage of his own imagination. "He never," the good man added, "wrote any part of his work with equal velocity. Three columns of the Magazine in an hour," he said, "was no uncommon effort, which was faster than most persons could have transcribed that quantity. In one day, in particular, and that not a very long one, he wrote twelve pages, more in quantity than ever he wrote at any other time, except in the life of Savage, of which 48 pages in octavo were the production of one long day, including a part of the night." Of his friend Cave, he always spoke with great affection; yet, says he, "Cave (who never looked out of his window but with a view to the

* Vol. I. Mr. Sale, translator of the Koran.

II. George Psalmanazar.

III. George Psalmanazar.

Archibald Bower.

★ Captain Shelvocke.

Dr. Campbell.

IV. The same as Vol. III.

V. Mr. Bower.

VI. Mr. Bower.

Rev. John Swinton.

VII. Mr. Swinton.

Mr. Bower.

Gentleman's Magazine) was a penurious paymaster*; he would contract for lines by the hundred, and expect the long hundred; but he was a good man, and always delighted to have his friends at his table."

To Mr. Nichols.

The late learned Mr. Swinton of Oxford having one day remarked that one man, meaning, I suppose, no man but himself, could assign all the parts of the Ancient Universal History to their proper authors; at the request of Sir Robert Chambers, or of myself, gave the account which I now transmit to you in his own hand, being willing that of so great a work the history should be known, and that each writer should receive his due proportion of praise from posterity.

I recommend to you to preserve this scrap of literary intelligence in Mr. Swinton's own hand, or to deposit it in the Museum, that the veracity of this account may never be doubted.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Dec. 6, 1784.

SAM. JOHNSON.

Mr. S——n.

The History of the Carthaginians.

————— Numidians.

————— Mauritanians.

————— Gætulians.

————— Garamantes.

————— Melano-Gætulians.

————— Nigritæ.

————— Cyrenaica.

————— Marmarica.

————— The Regio Syrtica.

————— Turks, Tartars, and Moguls.

————— Indians.

————— Chinese.

* It appears, however, from an account now before us, under his own hand, that he received from Mr. Cave by different payments, from Aug. 2, 1738, to April 21, 1739, 47 guineas, "in relation to a Version of Father Paul, begun Aug. 2, 1738." Of this version, which was intended to have been published by subscription, six sheets were actually printed: but another translation being at the same time announced under the patronage of Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Pearce, the designs of both proved abortive.

The History of the Dissertation on the Peopling of America.
 _____ on the Independency of
 the Arabs.

The Cosmogony, and a small part of the History immediately following. By Mr. Sale.

To the Birth of Abraham: Chiefly by Mr. Shelvocke.

History of the Jews, Gauls, and Spaniards. By Mr. Psalmanazar.

Xenophon's Retreat. By the same.

History of the Persians, and the Constantinopolitan Empire. By Dr. Campbell.

History of the Romans. By Mr. Bower.

1784, Dec.

LXXIX. Remarks on Webb's "Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting," &c.

MR. URBAN,

THE author of the following Remarks* has been so highly delighted in the perusal of Mr. Webb's book, in which there appears so much learning, so much good sense, so fine a taste, and so many excellent observations, that it is not without some reluctance that he finds himself obliged to differ, in some few particulars, from this ingenious writer; but the opinion he has of Rubens (perhaps partiality for him) is such, that he hopes to be excused in endeavouring to vindicate that painter's character.

Page 13, 14. "The first affections of the eye are always ill-placed; it is enamoured with *the splendid impositions of Rubens*," &c.—Why *impositions*, by way of reproach, when in a proper sense, it would be the highest praise; for the very business of painting is to *impose*, and he who does it most effectually is the greatest artist.

It may justly be said of Rubens, that, in many respects, he has had no equal; and particularly in colouring, not only as to the truth of the local colours, but in all the effects produced by colours; in the *chiaro oscuro*, or general light and shadow, in the keeping or degradation, in the arrangement or distribution of the parts, so as to produce a great and beautiful *whole*, or *tout ensemble*, as the French express

[* By Mr. Hightmore. E.]

it. And, as to drawing, in which he has been thought by some to be deficient, who have dwelt too much on a few negligences, owing merely to the rapidity of his pencil,—in drawing, or designing, he seems as much superior as in any of the other essentials, especially after some allowance made for the style of his first manner; which kind of allowance, or indulgence, is never refused to any other master, not even to Raphael, who stands in as much need of it to the full, as Rubens. His best works discover great knowledge of anatomy, a correctness of outline, a certain truth of character, an ease of action or motion, a force and spirit beyond what is to be seen in any other pictures whatsoever; and such an apparent facility in the execution, as at once convinces the spectator of the readiness of his apprehension, and the certainty of his principles.

When his anatomical knowledge is mentioned, he will probably be compared with Michael Angelo, who is generally allowed the most knowing of all in this part. Michael Angelo, it is true, has marked the muscles in their places, perhaps, with the greatest justness, but Rubens, only, seems to have known their use, and the different appearances they exhibit in action and at rest; insomuch that one sees their energy collected (as it were) to a point, in certain movements; and hence it follows, that his figures appear more animated than those of other painters. Many of their laboured figures seem motionless, though intended to represent immediate action.

To confirm and corroborate these observations on the genius, penetration, and spirit of Rubens, it may be added, that he *alone* has succeeded in subjects that require the most quick and lively conceptions, and where nothing more could be obtained of the originals than what could be caught by the glance of an eye; such as animals of every kind, and particularly the most savage, wild, and indocile. He *alone* has represented lions, tigers, &c. in all their various passions and actions, and as correctly as if they had waited the execution of his pencil, so perfectly has he been able to seize and to retain the idea; whereas, with many other painters of no small note, the representations of animals, compared with his, appear little better than such as are to be seen in the compartments of heraldry.

It has been objected, that his figures are too short and too fleshy, that is, too much of the Flemish cast. This is justly observed with respect to many of his pictures, especially of his first manner, as above observed; but then it must also be acknowledged, that in many others, his

latter pictures, he has avoided this fault, and produced as elegant and delicate figures as any painter whatever. His skill and judgment ought to be rated by his best productions, and if so, perhaps upon the whole, when all his talents are taken into the account, he may, at least, be said to be one of the greatest painters whose works remain.

Page 23. Mr. Webb says, "I should not be so particular in tracing the origin of sculpture, and consequently, of painting, to this æra, were it not that Pliny confidently affirms, that *the latter* did not exist in those times," &c. which is very probable.

Page 51, 52. "There is no one excellence of design," &c.—What follows, to the end of this paragraph, is very judicious, particularly where the author remarks, "that careless decency, and unaffected grace, which ever attend the motions and gestures of men unconscious of observation."

Page 86. "Can paint express a quickening perspiration? The mellowest tints of the Venetian school furnish no such ideas."—No—but the spectator furnishes them to himself. How often have we heard a man of a warm imagination, though of sense and genius, pretend to see excellencies in pictures which the painter never intended? Nothing is more common than for such to find all the delicacies of expression which they conceive should be attempted, and impute to an artist (especially if otherwise celebrated) not only the utmost perfection, but often what is not within the compass of the art. Many reflections of this kind may be made in reading Pliny, who, at other times also, discovers great ignorance in the observations that escape him, particularly where he remarks of a certain painter that he was the first who, in a portrait, drew the eyes with so peculiar a skill, that they seemed to follow the spectator as he changed his place, and still to look at him; whereas this effect is constant, and impossible to be otherwise. The most ignorant painter does the same thing without intention; and the most skilful can never represent the eyes looking at the spectator, standing in any one place, but they will also appear to have the same direction to him standing in any other. The cause of this effect it is plain he did not know. It is, that the direction of the eyes towards the spectator, remains the same in whatsoever place he stands; for that direction, or turn of the pupil, bears still the same relation to the position of each feature, and to all the parts of the face, which being on a plane, suffer no apparent change; and it is on this relation that the whole depends; whereas, in a living

face, or statue, that relation is continually changing with every change of place of the spectator.

Page 94. "Rubens has painted in imitation of the rainbow; all the colours co-operate; the effect is good, but accidental; but in Titian and Corregio this arrangement is the result of science; it is a harmony which springs from a judicious and happy union of consenting colours."—It seems very unjust, when the effect is allowed to be produced, to call in question the judgment that produced it. Why must that be pronounced accidental in Rubens, which is esteemed the result of science in Titian and Corregio? As no distinction is made, no reason given, none can be surmised but the prejudice of *connoisseurship*, since the author seems determined to depreciate Rubens and the Flemish school, in order to exalt Corregio, Titian, and other Italians *—*Can any good thing come out of Galilee?*

Page 151. Speaking of Raphael, Mr. Webb says, "The most unpicturesque action composed by him, seems to have been destined for paint," &c. Here, and elsewhere, such lavish encomiums seem without reason or truth. How contradictory to the above observation are several representations of this painter; particularly that in which Joseph is relating his dreams to his brethren! This picture would exhibit nothing more than a youth speaking to a number of auditors, the subject remaining utterly unknown, had he not, to explain it, drawn two circles in the sky, in one of which eleven sheaves are bowing to a twelfth in the midst; and in the other circle, the sun and moon making obeisance, &c. Without this expedient, which is surely very unpicturesque, the story could not have been told. Surely the author will not say, that this action seems to have been destined for *paint*. These are subjects not fit for the pencil, and which only can be related, particularly where there is a succession of circumstances. On the contrary, where the principal incidents are crowded into a moment, and are, as it were, instantaneous, there is room for the display of the painter's skill.

Such, for instance, as Alexander taking the potion from the hand of his suspected physician Philip, who knows not that he is suspected; Alexander giving to Philip the letter of accusation at the same time that he is swallowing the draught; the astonishment and indignation of Philip at

* This remark is by a Lady.

reading it; his admiration of the generosity and confidence of Alexander; and the amazement of the attendants, &c. All these circumstances exist in the same moment.

The choice of subject is of as much consequence in painting, as the choice of fable in an epic poem. Such a story is better and more emphatically told in picture than in words, because the circumstances that happen at the same time, must, in narration, be successive.

Page 158. Of the Laocoon, he says admirably, "We trace in it the labour of years, we feel from it the impression of a minute." His whole description is judicious, striking, and expressive, and he had one of the finest productions of antiquity to describe. But he adds, p. 159, "It is not probable that men of taste and letters, while they were eye-witnesses, &c. should celebrate those very qualities in the works of their painters, were they not eminently possessed of them." Here, however, is great room for distinction. Statuary is a much more obvious art than painting, and rose much earlier to perfection, though if it be allowed that the painters drew as correctly, and expressed the passions as justly as the sculptors, by lines only, (which, it is supposed, was the practice for a long time before the effects of light and shadow were known) this will be but a small advance in the art of painting. The famous story of Apelles and Protogenes, as related by Pliny, gives no very advantageous idea of the progress they had made; the most that can be drawn from it is, that Apelles excelled in the correctness or in the beauty of the outline, and by that Protogenes is said to have discovered him. Now every step beyond this, in the infancy of an art so complicated, must surprise; and the encomiums bestowed on those who introduced shadowing and colouring, especially with any degree of roundness or projection, may be admitted as just for the time; but to produce all the effects of colouring, as described under the article of Rubens, required the experience of more than an age. Rubens, it is true, had all the materials before him, besides the works of his predecessors, without which the progress he made would have been impossible, even with his genius.

And, indeed, it appears from Pliny, that many of those circumstances related as wonderful effects of this art, must have been then new to the beholders (by their admiration) though they are generally very trifling, and such as modern artists easily execute. But this is said not to depreciate the genius or skill of the ancient artists, (who might,

notwithstanding, be equal or superior to any moderns) but merely to shew the small advance this slow-paced art then made.

It is not at all improbable that among the most unlettered and barbarous people, attempts may have been made in statuary, either by cutting in wood, or forming in clay, or wax, or otherwise, where, perhaps, it has never entered their heads to attempt raising the image of any object, on a flat superficies, by means of light, and shade, and colour. The one presents itself readily to the imagination, while the other is never thought of, or thought impracticable.

But if, besides the knowledge of the effects of light in all possible directions, of shadows, and reflections, of both light and shadow, in the several degrees of distance (which may be called the ærial perspective) of preserving the same tints of colouring in all these degrees of light, shade, and reflection; if to these be added the true linear perspective, all which are essentials of the art, and with which statuary has nothing to do; if these things are considered, it will not be thought strange that painting should require much more time, study, and experience to arrive at perfection, than so simple and uncomplicated an art as statuary; and that a small progress in the one, should excite an equal admiration and praise with the greatest in the other (especially if at the same time the outline of the picture be as correct as that of the statue) and though these circumstances superadded in painting, be but in a moderate degree of perfection, they might, at that time, seem to be all that art was capable of producing, to those who had never yet seen more produced. And thus we may, in some measure, account for the testimonies transmitted down to us of the works of the ancient painters, who might notwithstanding, be far inferior to many modern artists, though with equal, or perhaps superior natural talents.

As a case in point, we see what painting the Chinese produce, though esteemed a learned and polite people, and who have long cultivated this and other arts; at the same time that they are no bad statuaries, at least in portraits, several of which we have seen that were modelled from the life, as like as could be done by any European statuary; which is an ocular proof how much more easy one is than the other.

Page 180. The author's encomium on Raphael, in relation to the cripple healed by Paul and Barnabas, is very judicious. He says truly, "That the wit of man could not devise means more certain of the end proposed; such a

chain of circumstances is equal to a narration; and that he cannot but think that the whole would have been an example of invention and conduct even in the happiest age of antiquity." This whole paragraph is admirable.

The well-known story of the contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasius, furnishes another argument of the moderate progress of this art, at that time. It is recorded, that the birds were deceived by the painted grapes of the one, and that the competitor was himself deceived by the painted curtain of the other. Now that the birds were deceived (if they really were) must be owing to the perfection of the represented grapes; but it is no difficult matter to represent fruit or flowers so perfectly as to deceive even men.

It is a thousand times more difficult to represent truly the human figure: and we find, by the same story, that these grapes were in the hand of a boy, whom, if the painter had represented as well as he had the fruit, the birds would scarcely have ventured to peck at it. And the curtain of the other painter being in a place where a curtain might probably hang, if it were not very perfectly represented, (though such representation is by no means difficult) might easily deceive a person who expected no such thing, and therefore did not scrupulously examine it. And, indeed, very indifferent representations, even of human figures, do sometimes deceive, in places where the originals might probably be; as centinels, and other figures in gardens, painted in wood, and cut out at all the extremities; and figures painted in sham windows. These, and such like, have often deceived the spectators, though not well executed, because, as was said, originals might probably be in these places. But the best portrait that ever Titian drew, if hung up in a frame, on the side of a room, would not deceive; that is, would not be taken for the person represented, which, however, it infallibly would, if placed where that person might be expected. And on the contrary, were a living face to appear through a canvass, inclosed in a frame, and mounted up as high as pictures are generally hung, it would very probably be taken for a picture; an instance of which is recounted of the famous Marshal Luxembourg, who, having had his picture drawn by one of the best painters in Paris, carried his mistress to see it, in hopes of prevailing on her to sit for her own. She immediately condemned it, asserting at the same time, that she never saw any picture like a human face. He, knowing that this was mere prejudice, persuaded the lady to call once more at the painter's house, after the last sitting, and assured

her, that if she should not be then perfectly satisfied, he would never more importune her. He had contrived, with the painter's assistance, just at the time the lady was appointed, to thrust his own face through a canvass hung where the picture had before been placed. She, on viewing it, persisted in asserting, that it was no more like than before. Upon this he could not keep his countenance, but, by laughing out, discovered his own stratagem, and her obstinacy.

This story is introduced, to shew how necessary the concomitant circumstances, either of a picture, or of nature, are, in order to produce the proper effects of the one or the other, on the spectator.

[The above remarks were made immediately after the publication of Mr. Webb's book, (in 1760) and were intended to be then printed in this Magazine; but by some accident, were omitted. The author of them has since heard so high a character (from the best judges) of the works of Mr. Stubbs, on some of the subjects in which Rubens excelled, that he should not think himself excusable in neglecting the comparison of two such great masters, if he had had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Stubbs's performances; but of that he has been hitherto deprived by his distance from London.]

1766, *August.*

LXXX. *Strictures on Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.*

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE lately turned over the new edition of the "*Anecdotes of Painting in England*," from the former perusal of which I had received much pleasure and information. I need not expatiate here on the merit of a work which hath been so well received by the public. It appears now with the advantage of some additions and improvements; and if it be perhaps too much to say, that upon the whole it is superior to the lives of the painters which have been published in Italy and France; yet one may venture to assert, that the reading of it is more agreeable, being equally free from the trifling particulars which disgust you so often in the works of Vasari, Malvasia, Ridolfi, and other Italian

authors, and from the indiscriminate and exaggerated praises lavished with so liberal a hand by Felibien, D'Argenville, and other French writers, upon many artists of no very great merit.

By this publication Mr. Walpole hath rendered us the same service which Vasari hath to Italy. He hath preserved sundry notices which in all probability would soon have been lost, and recorded many which would never have been known. The beginning of the history of the arts in Great Britain would have continued, without him, involved in darkness. We may hope, since the foundation of the Society of Artists, and of the Royal Academy, that those two bodies will be the means of transmitting the sequel of it to our posterity.

In my cursory reading of this useful and entertaining work, I took notice of some mistakes and some omissions; and, as I apprehended that rectifying the first, and supplying the others, might be of some service in a future edition, I wrote them down upon loose papers, with the intention of revising and improving the whole when more leisure should afford me the opportunity of doing it properly. But having, by some accident, mislaid those papers, and not having at present time to read over again the "*Anecdotes of Painting*," I shall transmit you two or three remarks which I have found, giving you the liberty to insert them in your useful Magazine, if you think them deserving the notice of the public, and worthy of a place in your valuable collection.

Mr. W. upon mentioning (Vol. v. p. 40.) a print of James I. with his arms supported by a lion and a griffin, makes this remark: "As Crispin Pass executed this abroad, it is not extraordinary that he should have continued Queen Elizabeth's griffin, not knowing that James on his accession had assumed the Scottish supporter." This observation is true, generally speaking; but I believe that more instances might be given, where the griffin hath been used by James and his successors of the Stuart family. I shall only mention a remarkable one which may be seen at the hospital of St. Catharine by the Tower. There is, in the wall of that building which runs parallel to the church, a compartment in stone, wherein are carved the arms of King Charles II. impaled with those of his consort, Queen Catharine of Portugal, supported by the lion and griffin. It is in very good preservation, well executed, and, on account of its being placed in a public edifice, it claims our particular attention.

In Vol. v. p. 194. a print is mentioned of Lord Chancellor

Jeffreys by Isaac Oliver, where he is styled Earl of Flint; a title, says Mr. W. *which none of our historians mention to have been given to, or designed for him.** The sagacity of our author might have pointed out to him, that this print hath preserved us this very curious anecdote, that the title of Earl of Flint was the reward intended by James II. for the cruelties committed by the bloody and merciless Jeffreys, who, upon the promise of this new dignity, very probably bespoke this print with his new title, intending that it should appear in public at the same time with the patent of his creation. The temper of the times very likely prevented this last being published as soon as it was intended; and events crowding fast one upon another, brought on the flight of the king, and the death of the minister.

I wonder that these reflections should not have occurred to Mr. W. when something of the same kind had before, upon a similar occasion; for in p. 116, after mentioning a print of Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, by Wm. Faithorne, he says, *this print hath the garter, though it never was given*, and he adds very judiciously, *probably it was promised*, which, I think, is very likely the case, by reflecting upon the history of those times.

I cannot help remarking here, as a corroborating proof of what is said above, that very lately a print of a noble duke, with the insignia of the garter hath been published so soon after his receiving it, as to make it evident, that the print was begun, if not finished before the creation was known to the public at large; so that had a revolution in politics or death prevented the bestowing this mark of the royal favour, still the print would have remained to perplex posterity. One may further observe, that the noble duke appears in the print with the star upon his breast, although, if I be not mistaken, the knights do not wear it till after their installation, and previous to it are only entitled to wear the blue ribbon.

In Vol. iv. Mr. W. giving some account of Bellucci, an Italian painter, who was employed at Canons, the seat of the first Duke of Chandos, observes, that this palace *was pulled down as soon as he was dead, and, as if in mockery of sublunary grandeur, the scite and materials were purchased by Hallet, a cabinet-maker.* In the first edition this passage

* Some have thought this a sarcasm, in allusion to the hardness of his heart. E.

was expressed in a more contemptuous style, by using the expressions of *one Hallet, a cabinet-maker*. Ovid says somewhere, that literature *emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*. This is very true; but as there is no rule without an exception, the author under our consideration affords us a very striking instance of the truth of this common proverb. I always wondered at the reason which could induce Mr. W. to speak in so familiar and disrespectful a manner of a gentleman, who by his ability, prudence, good management, economy, and success in his business, had been placed in a situation which enabled him to purchase an estate from a family, who, in the care of its fortune, had followed a different line of conduct. If Mr. W. was so fond of morality, and of making reflections upon the changes of this world, he might have seen an instance of the instability of sublunary grandeur in his own family, an instance too which was connected with his own work, and to which his subject ought to have naturally led him. Every body will perceive that I allude to the princely collection of pictures intended by the founder to be an everlasting useful ornament to England, and which in the lapse of a few years hath been sold by his successor, and removed to a country, reputed not long ago, unlettered and uncivilized.*

Yours, &c.

1784, *July*.

ARISTARCHUS.

LXXXI. *Mixed Passions sometimes not improperly expressed.*

MR. URBAN,

THE discourses of the President of the Royal Academy not only display a profound knowledge of professional theory, but also contain many general incidental principles of all the finer arts. The student of poetry or eloquence may derive from them almost equal instruction with the painter. It is therefore with the greatest hesitation I venture to examine the justness of a decision made by so accurate an observer of human nature.

In the discourse delivered Dec. 10, 1772, he cautions the

* Our correspondent should be informed, that it was not in the power of Mr. W. to prevent this unfortunate event, which would not have taken place had a certain lady of the family died a little sooner. E.

young artist against aiming at the union of contradictory excellencies, which must necessarily be mutually exclusive of each other. He then censures some persons *who have been fond of describing the expression of mixed passions*, which they fancied to exist in some favourite work. Such expression he pronounces *to be out of the reach of art*; and only ascribed to such works by persons, *who not being of the profession, know not what can or cannot be done.*

What Sir Joshua Reynolds declares to be beyond the reach of art, it is indeed hardiness not to admit as impracticable; yet as the question does not turn upon the technical skill of a painter so much as on the powers of the human countenance, it may not be improper to discuss it.

I must first observe, that the examples of false judgment taken by the president from Pliny, relate to fixed, habitual, characteristic qualities, not to passions occasionally exerted.

But to come near to the question: can it be doubted, that every indication of inward emotion which the countenance is capable of assuming, the pencil of the painter can imitate on the canvass?

If this maxim be incontrovertible, as I think it is, we have only to inquire, whether in fact the countenance ever expresses a mixture of emotions? While the soul is affected by any passion, if it be assailed by another of a different or discordant nature, the former will either give way, or contend for predominance. In the first case, there will be a moment of fluctuation, during which the expression will be uncertain; that of the former not being totally effaced, nor the other yet exclusively ascendant. Thus the lover in Lucretius viewing his mistress, *in vultu videt vestigia risûs*. This transient interval resembles those points of time, so happily seized by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, before the entire recess of the first form, or consummation of the new one. Though the painter's art, confined to a single instant, could not delineate the rapid train of passions, which *dimin'd the face of Satan on the view of Eden*, and *thrice chang'd with pale ire, envy, and despair*; yet were he even to select the moment, *when his griev'd look he fix'd sad*, still it must be Satanic sadness, tinged with *deep malice and revenge*. I could almost conceive, that as the sculptor in the station of a statue can imply its being in actual motion, so the magic of the painter can suggest to us, how transient the emotion expressed is intended to be. If the first impressed passion be firm enough to contend for superiority with that superinduced, does not experience prove, that the features wear

a form very different from that which either passion singly would impress? Does not the expression participate of the character of each? Is there no difference, but in degree, between the aspect of a man oppressed by fear, and of one disturbed by complexional timidity, yet supported against its influence by rational self-discipline? The countenance of Coriolanus, during the supplication of his mother and wife, must have passed through a series of expressions from that of an assumed cold stateliness, with which he covered his feelings, till when overpowered by natural affection *his eyes did sweat compassion*. Through the whole of this conflict, at no time did his countenance indicate an unmixed emotion, and even at the concluding triumph of filial duty, the great interpreter of nature hath represented him distracted almost to agony :

Oh, my mother, mother ! oh !
 You have won a happy victory to Rome :
 But for your son—*Believe* it, oh, *believe* it—
 Most dangerously you have with him prevail'd,
 If not most mortal to him. But let it come.

Andromache *δακρυοεν γελασασα* (6 Iliad, 484.) readily occurs as a beautiful illustration of the power of the countenance to express blended feelings ;* it does not, however, appear to me to come so near the essence of this question as to be competent to support the decision of it. A variety of soft images rushed at once upon the mind of Andromache : her heart was melted with a recollection of the many tender circumstances that form the aggregate of domestic happiness ; and Hector's perilous station excited a fear of losing him who supported this happiness ; the little incident of infant terror quickens this mass of tenderness ; yet these several emotions, being of a kindred nature, easily coalesce into one united charity. Mingled tears and smiles are often marks of the affectionate feeling, though on most occasions they denote contrary passions.

Perhaps the following may be a more apposite instance : Junius Brutus is graphically described by Livy as presiding at the capital punishment of his sons, whom he had condemned to die : “ et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit quum

* In like manner “ Death (in Par. Lost) grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile.”

inter omne tempus pater, vultus et os ejus, spectaculo esset” But what appearance in the countenance of Brutus so strongly interested the attention of the beholders? They surely saw something more than the expression of a father’s heart wounded by the sufferings of his sons. They traced a severe internal conflict; they observed visibly charactered in his face the vigorous but ineffectual efforts of nature to burst the restraints with which stern republican justice had fettered her yearnings; *eminente patrio animo inter publicæ pænæ ministerium*,

Were the great master, who harrowed our souls with sympathy for the woes of Ugolino, to delineate this awful scene, the power of his pencil would prove, that in *one* instance his decision had been ill-founded,

1785, Jan.

RAPOTENSIS.

LXXXII. Critique on the Word *Purpureus*.

MR. URBAN,

IN reading Latin authors we scarcely meet with any passages so obscure as those which relate to colours. We see the same word applied as an epithet to such opposite things; and, consequently, we see such opposite meanings assigned to the same word, that we are inclined to doubt whether the signification be “*albus an ater*.” Thus the word “*purpureus*” is applied to fire, air, and water, as well as to swans and snow. It seems, at the first view, almost impossible to settle the idea which the ancients intended to convey by this word. I shall endeavour to clear away part of this difficulty.

In the first place, it appears evidently that *purpureus* very often conveyed the same idea with our *purple*: and this was its literal and original meaning. Thus,

Purpureos flores.

Virg. Geor. iv. 54.

Cum tibi succurrit Veneris lascivia nostræ;

Purpureas tenero pollice tange genas.

Ovid. 1. Amor. iv. 21.

Purpureus ignis.

Stat. 1. Achil. 162.

Purpureusque pudor.

Ovid. Amor i. 3, 14.

In the next place, I imagine the ancients thought *purpureus* properly applied to that matter which was eminent for its shining qualities, of what colour soever it might be: this I take to have been its metaphorical or figurative meaning.

Tempestivius in domum

Pauli, purpureis ales oloribus,

Commissabere Maximi.

4 Carm. i. 9.

On which passage Baxter has the following note “*Purpureum pro pulchro poetæ dicere assueverunt.*” (Vet.Schol.) “*Albinovano etiam nix purpurea dicitur. Quicquid late splendebat et candebat per catachresin purpureum dicebatur: illud enim in coloribus summum erat.*” This, I think, is in general the idea meant to be conveyed by *purpureus*. Let us examine it in two or three passages. Ovid, speaking of the horses of the sun, has these words:

Gemmea purpureis cum juga demet equis.

Fast. ii. 74.

And in another place,

Carmina sanguineæ deducunt cornua lunæ,

Et revocant niveos solis euntis equos.

Lib. 2. Amor. Eleg. i. 24.

One would think it almost impossible to reconcile the two epithets, *purpureos* and *niveos*, which are here applied to the same animals by the same person. However, I think the passages may be perfectly understood by considering Baxter’s explication of *purpureus*. I am persuaded that the poet, alluding to the appearance of the sun itself, meant to say, that the horses made a bright, shining, and splendid figure; and this without wishing to point out any particular colour. I am the more inclined to be of this opinion, because Val. Flaccus, speaking of the same horses, calls them “*nitentes equos*,” lib. v. 415. Ovid has “*diem purpureum*,” and Virgil and Tibullus, “*purpureum ver.*” (Ovid. 3 Fast. 518; Virg. Ecl. ix. 40; Tibul. iii. 5. 4.) I see no other way, in these passages, of translating *purpureus*, except “splendid, shining.”

In Persius are the following lines :

Et magis auratis pendens laquearibus *ensis*
Purpureus subter cervices terruit.*

Sat. iii. 40.

Did I imagine *ensis purpureus* to be the true reading, I should infer much from hence in favour of my opinion, since I see no other reason why a sword, which is not stained with blood, should be called *purpureus*, except on account of its shining qualities. But I am intirely in favour of the other reading of this passage :

—————*ensis*
Purpureas subter *cervices* :

that is, “ the sword which was hung over the head of Damocles, dressed in kingly garments ” — *regio ornatu amictus*.

Horace, speaking of those heroes, who for the greatness of their actions were received into the highest heaven, thus anticipates the deification of Augustus :

Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar.

3 Carm. iii. 11.

It is well known that Augustus’s vanity led him to imagine that his eyes beamed forth light after the manner in which Apollo is described. This weakness Horace here flatters : the *purpureum os* means that radiant countenance, that “ quiddam divini vigoris,” which Augustus imagined he so peculiarly possessed. In the same strain of flattery Virgil speaks of Æneas, the representative of Augustus :

—————“ Haud illo (Apolline) segnior ibat
 Æneas ; tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

iv. 149.

And again ;

Os humerosque deo similis. Namque ipsa (Venus) decoram

Cæsariem nato genitrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum ; et lætos oculis afflârat honores.

i. 589.

* Persius here alludes to the well known story of Damocles, over whose head a naked sword was hung by a single horschair, by order of Dionysius the tyrant. See Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v.

In these passages *purpureus* seems, as before, to signify 'splendid, shining.' With the same signification, Ovid, speaking of Minos, calls him *purpureus*.

Cum vero faciem demto nudaverat ære,
Purpureusque ———
Terga premebat equi.

Met. viii. 32.

To the above examples, which I have brought to prove the meaning of *purpureus*, I shall add an argument from Rodellius. Why should not *purpureus*, says he, signify shining, since "simili ratione multa vocamus aurea, in quibus auri nihil est, præter pulchritudinem et nitorem?"

Having, in some measure, pointed out by the foregoing examples the meaning of *purpureus*, I shall here attempt to account for its figurative signification. The word "*purpureus*" is derived from *purpura*, and was originally applied to that which possessed the qualities of the *purpura*. This *purpura* was a species of shell-fish, within whose head is the liquor used in dying purple. Now purple garments were the marks of the highest dignities, and were worn by princes and kings, and also by the chief Roman magistrates. It is hence their writers use *purpuræ* to express the highest offices, as well as the persons who were dignified with these offices.* When, therefore, *purpura* thus deviated from its literal to a figurative sense, it was likely that *purpureus* should also alter its signification; and that when *purpura* came to signify that which was splendid and remarkable for its superior distinctions, *purpureus* also would then be applied to that which was possessed of these distinctions. Hence I think the reason why, among the Latins, *purpureus* was applied to such different, nay opposite things, since it was rightly said of whatever had

* Thus "*septimâ purpurâ*" is used by Florus for "*septimo consulatu*," 3. xxi. 17. Pliny, lib. x. 21. has "*Romana purpura*" for "*Romani magistratus*." Mart. lib. viii. 8.

Purpura te felix, te colit omnis honos.

And Ovid :

Jamque novi præeunt fasces, nova purpura fulget.

1 Fast. 81.

*Illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
Flexit.*

Virg. 2 Georg. 495.

From whence the expression "*attingere purpuram*," "*sumere purpuram*," &c.

a splendid and shining appearance. “*Quicquid late splendebat purpureum dicebatur: illud enim in coloribus summum erat.*”

1785, *July*.

O. E.

LXXXIII. *Critical Remarks on Pope's Homer.*

MR. URBAN,

A LADY of my acquaintance, a person of fine understanding and taste, and conversant from her youth with the best English writers, having lately amused herself with Pope's translation of Homer, which she had not looked into for many years, at the close of her employment desired my opinion of that performance, expressing at the same time no small degree of disappointment. She was sufficiently aware of the estimation in which the original has always and universally been held among the learned, and gave me a broad hint of her suspicions, that prejudice had operated not a little in favour of it, having, as she asserted, perused many poems from which she at least had conceived much greater pleasure.

For my own part, I have ever been among the warmest admirers of the Grecian, whose works, in my mind, in point of variety and sublimity of conception, and dignity of expression, remain to this day unrivalled. I accordingly felt myself a little piqued at her insinuation; and having, some years since, made an accurate comparison of Pope with Homer, throughout both his poems, I, with the more confidence, addressed myself to the task of his vindication; and, not doubting that most English readers must of necessity have conceived of him infinitely below his worth, I beg leave, through the medium of your Magazine, to give my sentiments upon the subject a more extensive circulation than they can otherwise have. I feel a double pleasure in doing it. I consider it not only as an opportunity to assert the honour of my favourite bard, but the good sense and justice of their suffrages also, who have crowned him with such abundant applause, as my female friend finds it difficult to account for.

To Pope, as a poet, I give praise, and grudge not. In his original works I find every species of poetical merit. But he did not build his glory upon the basis of translation. It

is evident that he did not intend it; for he admitted others to a participation with him in the labour, and consequently in the honour of that attempt; a condescension to which, with his abilities, he would never have stooped, had fame been his principal motive to the undertaking. His connexions were many; his avocations were frequent; he was obliged to have recourse to assistance; sometimes to write hastily, and rather carelessly, himself; and often, no doubt, either through delicacy or precipitance, to admit such lines of his coadjutors as not only dishonoured Homer, but his translator also. You will observe, Sir, that if I censure him, I am equally ready to make his apology, which, in a case that to many will seem to need one, will, I hope, amount to somewhat of an apology for myself. I know that the learned, who have allowed themselves leisure to consider the matter, are on my side; but I do not know that any of them have given it a minute examination in print; and though I be far from ranking myself in the number of those who properly come under that description, yet, after the pains that I have taken with the author, I account not myself altogether unqualified for the service.

Pope was a most excellent rhymist; that is to say, he had the happiest talent at accommodating his sense to his rhyming occasions. To discover homotonous words in a language abounding with them like ours, is a task that would puzzle no man competently acquainted with it. But for such accommodation as I have mentioned, when an author is to be translated, there is little room. The sense is already determined. Rhyme, therefore, must, in many cases, occasion, even to the most expert in the art, an almost unavoidable necessity to depart from the meaning of the original. For Butler's remark is as true as it is ludicrous, that

—Rhyme the rudder is of verses,
With which, like ships, they steer their courses.

Accordingly, in numberless instances, we may observe in Pope a violation of Homer's sense, of which he certainly had never been guilty, had not the chains with which he had bound himself constrained him. It is, perhaps, hardly worth while to mention the awkward effect that the barbarous abridgment of proper names produces in his work; an effect for which he was intirely indebted to his rhyme: for blank verse, being of loftier construction, would have afforded sufficient room for Idomeneus and Meriones, with

several others, to have stood upright, while the two heroes whom I have specified, being shortened by the foot, and appearing under the appellations of Idomen and Merion, lose much of their dignity, and are hardly to be known for the same persons. But rhyme has another unhappy effect upon a poem of such length. It admits not of a sufficient variety in the pause and cadence. The ear is fatigued with the sameness of the numbers, and satiated with a tune, musical indeed, but for ever repeated. Here, therefore, appears to have been an error in the out-set, which could never afterwards be corrected. It is to be lamented, but not to be wondered at. For who can wonder, since all men are naturally fond of that in which they excel, that Pope, who managed the bells of rhyme with more dexterity than any man, should have tied them about Homer's neck? Yet Pope, when he composed an epic poem himself, under the title of *Alfred*, wrote it in blank verse, aware, no doubt, of its greater suitableness, both in point of dignity and variety, to the grandeur of such a work. And though Atterbury advised him to burn it, and it was burnt accordingly, I will venture to say, that it did not incur that doom by the want of rhyme. It is hardly necessary for me to add, after what I have said on this part of the subject, that Homer must have suffered infinitely in the English representation that we have of him; sometimes his sense is suppressed, sometimes other sense is obtruded upon him; rhyme gives the word, a miserable transformation ensues; instead of Homer in the graceful habit of his age and nation, we have Homer in a strait waistcoat.

The spirit and the manner of an author are terms that may, I think, be used conversely. The spirit gives birth to the manner, and the manner is an indication of the spirit. Homer's spirit was manly, bold, sublime. Superior to the practice of those little arts by which a genius like Ovid's seeks to amuse his reader, he contented himself with speaking the thing as it was, deriving a dignity from his plainness, to which writers more studious of ornament can never attain. If you meet with a metaphorical expression in Homer, you meet with a rarity indeed. I do not say that he has none, but I assert that he has very few. Scriptural poetry excepted, I believe that there is not to be found in the world poetry so simple as his. Is it thus with his translator? I answer, no, but exactly the reverse. Pope is no where more figurative in his own pieces, than in his translation of Homer. I do not deny that his flowers are beautiful, at least they are often such; but they are modern

discoveries, and of English growth. The Iliad and the Odyssey, in his hands, have no more the air of antiquity than if he had himself invented them. Their simplicity is overwhelmed with a profusion of fine things, which, however they may strike the eye at first sight, make no amends for the greater beauties which they conceal. The venerable Grecian is as much the worse for his new acquisitions of this kind, as a statue by Phidias, or Praxiteles, would be for the painter's brush. The man might give to it the fashionable colour of the day, the colour of the emperor's eye, or of the hair of the queen of France; but he would fill up those fine strokes of the artist which he designed should be the admiration of all future ages. Do you ask an instance in point? I will give you one. At the assault made by the Trojans on the Grecian wall, in the twelfth book of the Iliad, Ajax kills Epicles, the friend of Sarpedon, with a great stone, which he cast down upon him from the top of the fortification. Homer says, simply, that he raised it on high, and that he cast it down. What says Pope?

“He pois’d and swung it round; then, toss’d on high,
It flew with force, and *labour’d up the sky*.
Full on the Lycian’s helmet *thund’ring* down
The pond’rous ruin crush’d his battered crown.”

Had the stone been discharged from a mortar, with a design that it should fall on the roof of some distant citadel besieged by the Duke of Marlborough, there would have been great beauty in the expression *labour’d up the sky*; but in the present case it is doubtless a most gross absurdity; and yet, absurd as it is, for the sake of its poetical figure, it found admittance.

As he inserts beauties of his own, so, not unfrequently, he rejects the beauties of his author, merely because they were of a kind not easily susceptible of that polish on which he insists upon all occasions. Thus, when Idomeneus, planted in the Grecian van, is said to occupy his station with the sturdiness of a boar, the comparison is sunk. Again, when Phoenix, who had been a kind of foster-father to Achilles, in order to work upon his affections, and to prevail with him, by doing so, to engage in the battle, reminds him of the passages of his infancy, he tells the hero, that in his childish fondness for his old tutor he would drink from no cup but his; “and often,” says he, “when thou hast filled thy mouth with wine, sitting upon my knee, thou hast returned it into my bosom, and hast wetted all my raiment.” The delicacy of Pope seems to have been shocked at this

idea, for he has utterly passed it over; an omission by which it is not easy to say whether he has more dishonoured Homer or himself. A more exquisite stroke of nature is hardly to be found, I believe, in any poet.

The style of Homer is terse and close in the highest possible degree; insomuch that his introductory lines excepted, in which the same adjuncts or ascriptions of wisdom, strength, or swiftness, constantly recur, as Ulysses, Diomede, or Achilles, happen to be mentioned, it were not easy to find, in many lines, perhaps in any, a single word that could be spared without detriment to the passage. He has no expletives except such as he uses avowedly for that purpose. I cannot pay the same compliment to his translator. He is so often diffuse, that he is indeed seldom otherwise, and seems for the most part rather to write a paraphrase than to translate. The effect of which management is a weakness and flimsiness to which Homer is completely a stranger. The famous simile at the end of the 8th book, in which the fires kindled in the Trojan camp are compared to the moon and stars in a clear night, may serve as a specimen of what I blame. In Homer it consists of five lines; in Pope, of twelve. I may be told, perhaps, that the translation is nevertheless beautiful, and I do not deny it; but I must beg leave to think that it would have been more beautiful, had it been more compressed. At least I am sure that Homer's close is most to be commended. He says simply, "The shepherd's heart is glad"—a plain assertion, which in Pope is rendered thus:

"The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light."

Whence the word *conscious* seems to be joined with *swain*, merely by right of ancient prescription, and where the blessing is perfectly gratuitous, Homer having mentioned no such matter. But Pope, charmed with the scene that Homer drew, was tempted to a trial to excel his master, and the consequence was, that the simile, which in the original is like a pure drop, of simple lustre, in the copy is like that drop dilated into a bubble, that reflects all the colours of the bow. Alas! to little advantage; for the simplicity, the almost divine simplicity, of Homer is worth more than all the glare and glitter that can be contrived.

I fear, Sir, that I have already trespassed upon your paper, and, lest I should trespass upon your patience also, will hasten, as fast as possible, to a conclusion, observing only, as I go, that the false delicacy, of which I gave a proof in

the instance of Phœnix, has, in other particulars also, occasioned a flatness in the English Homer that never occurs in the Greek. Homer's heroes respected their gods just as much as the papists respect their idols. While their own cause prospered they were a very good sort of gods; but a reverse of fortune taking place, they treated them with a familiarity nothing short of blasphemy. These outrages Pope has diluted with such a proportion of good Christian meekness, that all the spirit of the old bard is quenched entirely. In like manner the invective of his heroes is often soothed and tamed away so effectually, that, instead of the smartness and acrimony of the original, we find nothing but the milkiness of the best good manners. In nice discriminations of character Homer is excelled by none; but his translator makes the persons of his poems speak all one language; they are all alike, stately, pompous, and stiff. In Homer we find accuracy without littleness, ease without negligence, grandeur without ostentation, sublimity without labour. I do not find them in Pope. He is often turgid, often tame, often careless, and, to what cause it was owing I will not even surmise, upon many occasions has given an interpretation of whole passages utterly beside their meaning.

If my fair countrywomen will give a stranger credit for so much intelligence, novel at least to them, they will know hereafter whom they have to thank for the weariness with which many of them have toiled through Homer; they may rest assured that the learned, the judicious, the polite, scholars of all nations have not been, to a man, mistaken and deceived; but that Homer, whatever figure he may make in English, is in himself entitled to the highest praise that his most sanguine admirers have bestowed upon him. Pope resembles Homer just as Homer resembled himself when he was dead. His figure and his features might be found, but their animation was all departed.

1785, *August*.

ALETHES.

LXXXIV. Virgilian Account of the Separation of Sicily from Italy.

MR. URBAN,

Hæc loca, vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina,
 (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
 Dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
 Una foret: venit medio vi pontus, et undis
 Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
Litore diductas angusto interluit æstu.

Æn. III. 414.

THE poet, you observe, is speaking of the separation of Sicily from Italy, which, in very ancient time, were conjoined. But, as the text now stands, there is a manifest contradiction in his narrative. He says the fields and cities of the two countries were *litore diductas*, “parted by a shore,” whereas this is not only contrary to matter of fact, but he himself tells us, the separation was made by water, or the sea, *venit medio vi pontus*; that Hesperia, i. e. Italy was severed from Sicily, *undis*; and that the sea ran between them, *angusto æstu*, “by a narrow strait.” Now if, by the alteration of a single letter, you will read *litora diductas*, every thing will be right and consistent, as the sense will then be, “that the sea flowed in by a narrow strait between the fields and cities of the two countries, they being separated by it, *quoad litora*, i. e. in respect of their several shores;” as in truth they are.

As to the fact that Sicily was once united to Italy, and by a violent earthquake, *vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina*, was dismembered from it; that the sea thereby, and by that agent, was forcibly introduced between them, and formed the strait of Messina, appears extremely credible. The author imputes this astonishing revolution to an earthquake, insinuates that there was a tradition of such an event, and that a very ancient one; and I am of opinion, that whoever considers the nature of these countries, the gift of earthquakes and volcanos, as shewn and verified by Sir William Hamilton, in his *Observations on Vesuvius*, &c.; and by Mr. Swinburne, in his *Travels into these parts*, will find every reason in the world to believe, that such an extraordinary convulsion of nature did once happen here, though we know not the time when. The remarks of these philosophical gentlemen are of importance, even in this view; and, in regard to this curious passage in the *Æneid*, since,

as aforetime, many have been inclined to consider the lines as a flight of poetry, or a mere embellishment in that noble poem, they now can view it both in that light, and as a circumstance substantiated and founded in nature and truth, which certainly adds great beauty to the lines, and evinces at the same time the art and learning of the poet.

John Twine, the Kentish antiquary, in his elegant dialogue *de Rebus Albionicis*, &c. seems to have been fully persuaded that our island of Britain was formerly, viz. long before the destruction of Troy, united to Gaul, Twine, p. 8, seq. See also Camd. Brit. col. 1. of Gibson's Translation, and the note there. But this case appears to me very different from that of Sicily and Italy; an adequate efficient cause is here wanting; the strait is too large to be brought about by the supposed cause, viz. the workings, or tides, of the Germanic and Gallic oceans, Twine, p. 9; too much stress is laid on the words *divisus* and *diductus*, used by the classics on the occasion, Twine, p. 22, 23; and lastly, present appearances do not much favour or corroborate the conjecture; insomuch, that one has not that plausible ground for assenting to the detachment of Britain from Gaul, as we have for that of Sicily from Italy.

The subject, Mr. Urban, of the emerging, formation, and detachment of islands, is very copious; but as it is not my intention to dilate upon it, but only to confer, in few words, the two cases of Sicily and Britain, for the illustration of the known and celebrated lines of Virgil, I shall pursue it no further.

Yours, &c.

1785, Nov.

T. Row.

MR. URBAN,

WITH regard to the criticism on Virgil, by your ingenious correspondent T. Row, I beg leave to refer him to Heyne's edition of Virgil, 4 vols. 8vo. Lips. 1771, vol. II. p. 303. "Vir doctus Britannus (*Gentl. Magazine*), 1764, p. 464. *litora diductas* emendabat, *h. e.* quoad litora, refutatus mox ab alio, p. 556. Neuter viderat *litore diductas* esse idem ac mari, quod intervenerat, *diductas*; nam ubi litus, ibi mare." The learned and ingenious professor, therefore, in his *Perpetua Adnotatio*, explains *litore* by these words,—*Mari jam facto*.

By the way, Mr. Urban, this shews that your useful publication is not unknown to the learned of foreign nations.

Yours,

T. S.

1785, Suppl.

LXXXV. Astle on Writing.

MR. URBAN,

A RESPECTABLE literary friend of mine on the continent, having requested me to inform him, how I have shewn in my work on the *Origin and Progress of Writing*, which had not come to his hands, that ideas which have no bodily forms may become perceptible; in compliance with his request, I made the following concise analysis of what I have advanced on that head, which, on account of its brevity, may procure a place in your valuable miscellany, and be acceptable to your readers.

Yours, &c.

Battersea Rise, Dec. 2.

THO. ASTLE.

All characters whatever must necessarily be either **HIEROGLYPHIC** or **SYMBOLIC**. The former are, in their nature, *imitative*; the latter kind are *arbitrary marks* for **SOUNDS**, called *Letters*, which become significant by compact or agreement. These marks do not derive their powers from their *forms*, but from the **SOUNDS** which men have agreed to annex to them; they admit of so great a variety of combinations and arrangements, that a small number of them are sufficient for making visible all words in all languages: and, although much has been said by writers of different ages and countries, concerning the **FORMS** of Letters, it is obvious that all characters must necessarily be composed of *lines* or *curves*, or of both. The art of writing has, by many respectable persons of different nations, been supposed beyond the reach of the human mind, unless assisted by an immediate communication from heaven; yet I conceive I have demonstrated, that mental conceptions, which have no corporeal forms, may become perceptible to the sight, by adapting a sufficient number of marks to the **SOUNDS** of any language, and by arranging and combining them properly. By these marks we are enabled to transfer ideas from the ear to the eye, and *vice versa*. For example: if I dictate to an amanuensis, my ideas are conveyed to him through the medium of sounds significant, which he draws into vision, by means of marks significant of those sounds. If I read aloud to an audience from any author, his ideas are impressed on my mind, through the medium of sight, by the marks for sounds, or letters, and these ideas are

likewise impressed on the minds of the audience through the sense of hearing.

From these proofs results the following definition which I have given of this wonderful art:

“ Writing may be defined to be the art of exhibiting to the sight the conceptions of the mind, by means of marks or characters, significant by compact of the *sounds* of language.”

1785, *Dec.*

LXXXVI. *Parallel Passages and Remarks on Shakspeare.*

MR. URBAN,

PLEASE to insert the inclosed parallel passages, and remarks on Shakspeare, and you will oblige your correspondent,

T. H. W.

Tempest.—Act IV. Scene 1.

Pros. For I
Have giv'n you here a third of mine own life,
Or that for which I live.

Τὸ γὰρ ἡμῖν τὰς ζωὰς ἔχω,
— Ζὰ τὰν σὰν ἰδεῖαν.

Theocrit. Id. 29. v. 5.

The Merry Wives of Windsor.—Act I. Scene 1.

Slén. She has brown hair, and speaks *small** like a woman.

“ Then the company answered all,
With voices sweet entuned, and so *small*,
That me thought it the sweetest melody.”
Chaucer. The Flower and the Leaf.

“ At last she warbled forth a treble *small*,
And with sweet looks, her sweet song interlac'd.”
Fairfax's Tasso, B. 15. stanza 62.

* In Hanmer's edition, 12mo. 1747, this emphatical word is omitted. *E.*

Measure for Measure.—Act III. Scene 1.

Claud. The *delighted* spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.
.

The epithet *delighted* seems to be so misplaced, that different commentators have proposed to read *dilated*, *benighted*, *delinquent*; but Shakespeare took *delighted* from the following uncouth passage.

“But round about the island, for the space of seven or eight moneths in the yere there floateth ice, making a miserable kind of mone not unlike to man’s voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in Mount Hecla, and in the ise, there are places wherein the soules of their countrymen are tormented.

“No doubt a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, shut up within the bottome of one mountaine, and that no great one; yea at some times, (by fits and seasons) changing place; namely, when it is weary of lurking at home by the *fire’s-side* within the mountaine, it *delighteth* to be ranging abroad, and to venture to sea, but without a ship, and to *gether itself* round into morsels of yce.”

Hackluyt’s Voyages, Vol. I. p. 562.

Love’s Labour Lost.—Act V. Scene 2.

Biron.
To shew his teeth as *white as whale his bone*.
.

The *white whale his bone*, which is now superseded by ivory, was the tooth of the *horse-whale*, morse, or walrus, as appears by King Alfred’s preface to his Saxon translation of Orosius.

Song.—Act V. Scene 2.

. . . . Nightly sings the staring owl
To-whit! to-whoo!

“To-whit, to-whoo, the owle does cry.”

Lylly’s Mother Bombie.

Midsummer-Night's Dream.

Johnson doubts whether Shakespeare in this play, or Drayton in his *Nimphidia*, first produced the system of the fairy empire. But if Drayton wrote the *Nimphidia* after the *Midsummer-Night's Dream* had been acted, he could with very little propriety say,

Then since *no muse* hath bin so bold,
Or of the LATTER, or the ould,
Those elvish secrets to unfold,
Which lye from others reeding.
My active muse to light shall bring
The court of that proud fayry king,
And tell there of the revelling,
Jove prosper my proceeding!

Act II. Scene 1.

Puck.
When I a fat and bean-fed horse beguile,
Neighing in likeness of a *silly** foal.
.

Scene 2.

Queen.
The *childing* autumn.
"An hundred plants beside (even in his sight)
Childed an hundred nymphes, so great so dight."
Fairfax's Tasso, B. 18. Stan. 26.

Childing is also an old term in botany, when a small flower grows out of a large one, "The *childing* autumn," i.e. producing flowers on those of summer. Florists have a *childing* rose, a *childing* daisy, and a *childing* scabious.

Act III. Scene 7.

Hel.
But you must join in *souls*,† to mock me too.

* *Filly*?

† *Shoals*?

Macbeth.—Act II. Scene 2.

Macb.
Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No.

“Non si Neptuni fluctu renovare operam des;
Non, mare si totum velit eluere omnibus undis.”

Lucret. l. 6. v. 1074.

Act III. Scene 2.

Macb.
The *shard-born beetle* with his drowsy hums
Hath rung night's yawning peal.

As the meaning of the epithet *shard-born* is yet unsettled,
I give the following from Dryden:

“Such souls as *shards produce*, such *beetle* things,
As only buzz to heaven with evening wings.”

The Hind and the Panther.

Act V. Scene 1.

Doct.
My *mind* she has *mated*, and amaz'd my sight,
.

“Yet with these broken reliques, *mated mind*,
And what a justly-grieved thought can say.”

Scory to Drayton.

King John.—Act I. Scene 1.

Gur. Good leave, good Philip.

Phil. *Philip!* Sparrow! James,
There's toys abroad.

The sparrow is called *Philip* from its note.

————— “*Cry*
Phip phip the sparrows as they fly.”

Lylly's Mother Bombie.

The second part of *King Henry IV*.—Act III. Scene 2.

Bard. . . Accommodated; that is, when a man is, as
they say, accommodated: or when a man is,—being,—
whereby,—he may be thought to be accommodated, which
is an excellent thing.

The following is a parallel explanation of the word *ob-*
noxious,

“Quis adeo tam linguæ Latinæ ignarus est, quin sciat eum dici *obnoxium*, cui quid ab eo, cui esse obnoxius dicitur, *incommodari* et noceri potest, et qui habeat aliquem noxæ, id est, culpæ suæ consciūm?”

Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. l. 7. c. 17.

Cymbeline.—Act II. Scene 3.

Song.

Hark! hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings
And Phœbus 'gins arise.

.....

Imitated from Lyly.

Song.

“The larke so shrill and cleare,
How at heaven's gates she claps her wings,
The morn not waking till she sings.”

Alexander and Campaspe.

Hamlet.—Act V. Scene 1.

Laer. Lay her i' th' earth;
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring!

“Nunc non e tumulo, fortunataque favilla,
Nascentur violæ?”

Pers. Sat. i. v. 39.

1785, *April.*

MR. URBAN,

YOUR learned correspondent T. H. W. has not shewn his usual attention to the lines from Theocritus, cited as a parallel passage to the following clause of Prospero's address to Ferdinand respecting Miranda. *Tempest*, Act iv. Scene 1.

For I

Have giv'n you here a *third* of my own life;
Or that for which I live:

the words in the Greek poet being *ἡμισυ τὰς ζωῆς*—“the *half* of life.” There is, however, an expression in *Othello* that is very similar, viz. Act i. Scene i. where Iago, alarming Brabantio with the elopement of his daughter, tells him,

Your heart is burst, you have lost *half* your soul;

and as Theobald has remarked, *dimidium animæ meæ* was the current language with the Latins on such occasions.

To the manner of reading the above passage quoted from the *Tempest*, though allowed to be the same in all the impressions, Mr. Theobald objected, because he did not conceive how Miranda could be only a *third* part of her father's life, when he had no wife living, nor any other child to rob her of a share in his affection. He, therefore, in the true spirit of a critic, substitutes, without any authority, the word *thread* for *third*. And though the late Dr. Johnson, in his valuable edition of Shakespeare, has restored the ancient reading, he certainly did not comprehend the full purport of the lines, from his adding this observation, "that Prospero in his reason subjoined, why he calls her a *third* of his life, seems to allude to some logical distinction of causes, making her the final cause." But if I am not mistaken, this obscurity may be dispelled by a little attention to the character of Prospero, and to a like mode of speaking used by him towards the end of the play.

He is represented by the Poet to be a person of a philosophical and religious turn of mind, and as such must be supposed to have employed his thoughts upon that future state of existence, which will succeed the entire dissolution of the visible fabric of the universe, described by him in those admirable lines, that are so well known as to render a repetition of them unnecessary. In the words under examination, Prospero may then be conceived to have intimated, that to consult and provide for the happiness of his daughter, for his own temporal welfare, and for his spiritual concerns, was the whole business of his life, or that for which he lived; and that to each of these interesting articles he allotted an equal portion of his time and thoughts.

With the view of satisfying your readers that this is not a vague interpretation, I will refer them to the last speech except one, delivered by Prospero, towards the conclusion of the fifth Act, where he appears to have resumed the same train of ideas, and has adopted the same word as expressive of his sentiment; for he says,

I'll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples,
Where I have hope to see the nuptials
Of these our dear-beloved solemniz'd;
And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every *third* thought shall be my grave.

Happy as the old man knew he should be with leaving Miranda married to the Prince of Naples, he was very sen-

sible that his beloved daughter would continue to be the object of his affectionate care; and having been before deprived of his dukedom, in some measure through his inattention to the duties of that high station, he was determined in his own mind, on his return to Milan, not to neglect his worldly affairs: but it was also his fixed purpose still to appropriate a *third* part of his time to meditating upon his last momentous change; or, that

Every *third* thought should be his grave.

1785, *May*.

W. and D.

MR. URBAN,

IF I have not already overloaded you with remarks on Shakespeare, please to insert the following.

T. H. W.

Taming of the Shrew.—"I remember (says Barckley) a pretie experiment practised by the Emperor Charles the Fifth upon a drunkard. As this Emperour on a time entered into Gaunt, there lay a drunken fellow ouerthwart the stretes, as though he had bene dead; who, least the horse-men should ride ouer him, was drawn out of the way by the legges, and could by no means be wakened; which, when the Emperour saw, he caused him to be taken vp and carried home to his pallace, and vsed as he had appointed. He was brought into a faire chamber banged with costly arras, his clothes taken off, and laid in a stately bed meet for the Emperour himselfe. He continued in sleepe vntil the next day almost noone. When he awaked and had lyen wondring a while to see himself in such a place, and diuerse braue gentlemen attending upon him, they took him out of the bed, and apparelled him like a prince, verie costly garments, and all this was done with verie great silence on everie side. When he was ready, there was a table set and furnished with verie daintie meats, and he set in a chaire to eate, attended vpon with braue courtiers, and serued as if the Emperour had bin present, the cupboord full of gold plate and diuerse sortes of wines. When he saw such preparation made for him, he left any longer to wonder, and thought it not good to examine the matter any further, but took his fortune as it came, and fell to his meate. His wayters with great reuerance and dutie obserued diligently his nods and becks, which were his signes to call for that he lacked, for words he vsed none. As he thus sate in his maiestie eating

and drinking, he tooke in his cups so freebie, that he fell fast asleepe againe as he sate in his chaire. His attendants stripped him out of his fresh apparel, and arrayed him with his owne ragges againe, and carried him to the place where they found him, where he lay sleeping vntil the next day. After he was awakened, and fell into the companie of his acquaintance, being asked where he had bene, he answered that he had bene asleepe, and had the pleasantest dream that ever he had in his life; and told them all that passed, thinking that it had been nothing but a dreame.”—*A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man, by Sir Richard Barckley, Knt.* 1598, p. 24.

This frolic seems better suited to the gaiety of the gallant Francis, or to the revelry of the boisterous Henry, than to the cold and distant manners of the reserved Charles, of whose private character, however, historians have taken little notice.

Macbeth.—The *Witch*, an unpublished *tragi-coomodie*, by Thomas Middleton, whence Shakespeare is supposed to have taken the songs, and some hints for the incantations, in *Macbeth*, must, from the evidence of the following passage, have been written after the 39th of Elizabeth (1597), when the act was made against minstrels, fiddlers, and *pipers*.

’Twill be a worthie work,
To put down all theis *pipers* (smokers): ’tis great pity,
There should not be a statute against them,
As against fiddlers. *Act 2. sc. 1.*

But it is probable, from the familiar mention of tobacco, to which Shakespeare hath no allusion, that this performance did not appear till several years after the accession of James. Middleton, in his dedication to this play, says, it was “*ignorantly-ill-fated*,” which seems to be a mild or tender way of owning that it was damned by an ignorant audience.

Antony and Cleopatra.—Act II. Scene 7.

Pomp. This is not yet an Alexandrian feast.

Ant. It ripens toward it. *Strike the vessels, ho.*
Here is to Cæsar.

Vessels probably mean *kettle-drums*, which were beaten when the health of a person of eminence was drunk; immediately after, we have, “make battery to our ears with the loud music.” They are called *kettles* in *Hamlet*.

Give me the cups;
And let the *kettle* to the trumpet speak.

Johnson's explanation, "try whether the casks sound as empty," degrades this feast of *the lords of the whole world* into a rustic revel.

King Lear.—Act II. Scene 2.

Kent. Stand, rogue, stand, you *neat* slave, strike.

Does "*neat* slave" mean any thing more than *cowherd*?

It was the *lark*, the *herald* of the morn.

Romeo and Juliet, Act 3. sc. 5.

The mountain *larke*, daie's *herald*, got on wing.

Browne's Britannia's Pastorals, Book 1. sc. 3.

Now the *herald lark*
Left his ground nest.

Milton's Par. Reg. Book 2. v. 279.

Ham. ———a *sea* of troubles.

Hamlet, Act 3. sc. 1.

Warburton's emendation is needless, as Menander uses the very same expression.

Εἰς πελαγὸς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖς γὰρ πραγμάτων.

Fragm. p. 22. *Amstel.* 1719.

In *mare molestiarum* te conjiciēs.

You will throw yourself into a *sea* of troubles.

"*Osr.* The king, Sir, hath laid, that in a dozen passes between yourself and him, he (Laertes) shall not exceed you (Hamlet) three hits; he (Laertes) hath laid on (out of) twelve for nine." Act 5. sc. 2.

Laertes, being the most expert fencer, was to give Hamlet *nine* hits out of *twelve* passes. Johnson's note seems more difficult to be understood than the passage itself. But this learned annotator, employed in unravelling such trivial entanglements, is Hercules spinning:

Et manu, clavam modo qua gerebat,
Fila deduxit.

1787, June.

T. H. W.

LXXXVII. Imitations and accidental Resemblances of Milton, &c.

MR. URBAN,

WHEN it suits you, please to insert a few remarks which I have made in looking over Newton's edition of Milton. If some of them appear minute, let it be considered, that whatever gives the least light into any obscure passage in Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, or Pope, should not be esteemed trivial; neither will imitations or accidental resemblances be neglected by those who are desirous of seeing in what manner different authors express the same thought. The works of these our greatest masters are growing every day darker from the shades which time gradually spreads over them, and which it is much beyond the power of any one man to clear off effectually; I therefore throw my mite occasionally into your valuable collection.

Yours, &c.

T. H. W.

NOTES ON MILTON.

Paradise Lost.

Instruct me, for thou know'st; thou from the first
Wast present,——

B. i. v. 19.

Copied from Homer's invocation of the Muses:

Εσπέιε νυν μοι, Μῆσαι, ὀλυμπία δαμαί' εἰχῆσαι·
Ἵμεις γὰρ θεαὶ ἐσίε, παρῆσθε τε, ἴσθε τε πάντα.

Il. ii. v. 484.

Instruct me now, O ye Muses! who have celestial
mansions;
For ye are goddesses, and are present, and know all
things.

That sea-beast
Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugest that swim th' ocean stream:
Him, haply slumb'ring on the Norway foam,
The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
Moors by his side under the lee.

Ver. 200.

“ It sometimes falleth out that mariners thinking these whales to be ilands, and casting out ankers upon their backs, are often in danger of drowning.—The Bishop of Breme, in old time, sent certaine legates with a convent of friers to preach and publish in the north the popish faith; and when they had spent a long journey in sailing towards the north, they came unto an iland, and there casting their anker, they went ashore, and kindled fires, and so provided victuals for the rest of their journey. But when their fires grew very hote, this iland sank, and suddenly vanished away, and the mariners escaped drowning very narrowly with the boate that was present.” *Hakluyt's Voyages*, I. 568.

His pond'rous shield,
 ———the broad circumference
 Hung on his shoulders like the moon,—
Ver. 284.

And on her shoulder hung her shield,—
 As the fair moon in her most full aspect.
Spenser's F. 2. B. V. Cant. v. St. 3.

While over-head the moon,
 ———they on their mirth and dance
 Intent,—
V. 784.

Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, *imminente Luna*;
 Junctæque Nymphis Gratia decentes
Alternò terram quatunt pede.
Hor. L. I. Od. iv. v. 5.

Like a comet burn'd,
 ———and from his horrid hair
 Shakes pestilence and war.
B. II. v. 708.

So Spenser:

All as a blazing star doth far out-cast
 His hairy beams, and flaming locks dispred,
 At sight whereof the people stand aghast.
F. Q. B. III. Cant. i. St. 16.

And Sylvester:

There, with long bloody hair, a blazing star
 Threatens the world with famin, plague, and war.

Again :

That *hairy comet*, that long streaming star,
Which threatens earth with famine, *plague*, and war.
Du Bartas, 2d Day, 1st Week.

Pope hath introduced this passage from Milton into the translation of the *Iliad*, where Homer only says, ἡ δ' ἄστρον ὥς, *like a star*.

Like the red star, that from his flaming hair
Shakes down diseases, pestilence, and war.
B. xix. v. 412.

As when the prowling wolf,
Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve
In hurdled cotes amid the field secure,
Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold—
B. IV. v. 183.

Like as a wolfe about the closed fold
Rangeth by night his hoped prey to get,
Enrag'd with hunger, and with malice old,
Which kinde* twixt him and harmlesse sheepe hath set.
Fairfax's Tasso, xix. 35.

Bentley, in a note on *verse* 303 of this book, is surprised that Milton, in his description of the person of Adam, should omit his beard. Newton imagines it was because the painters never represent our first parent with one. But neither the critic nor the good bishop were aware of the ignominy which the beard of man lies under. Helmont gravely asserts, that Adam was created a handsome young man, without a beard; but that his face was afterwards degraded with hair, like the beasts, for his disobedience; and that Eve, being less guilty, was permitted to retain her smooth face. The fantastic philosopher also adds this extraordinary remark; that, if an angel appears with a beard, you may depend on it that he is an evil one, for no good angel ever wore a beard. “Adam creabatur juvenis, imberbis, floridus; quamobrem ut primus verecundiæ infractor enotesceret, Deus mento, genis, atque labris Adami pilos obnasci voluit, ut multorum quadrupedum compar, socius et similis esset: Evam vero, pudoris et pudicitiae tenaciorem, vultu

* Nature.

polito decoram retinuit. Inter signa quibus angeli in apparitionibus distinguuntur, unum capitale est: si apparuit barbatus angelus, malus esto; Eudæmon enim nunquam barbatus apparuit."

Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
On a sun-beam, swift as a shooting star
In autumn thwarts the night,—

IV. 555,

The angel Michael thus descends;

Or in the stillnesse of a moone-shine even,
A falling star so glideth down from heaven.

Fairfax's Tasso, B. ix. St. 62.

Neither various stile
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd or sung
Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
More tuneable than needed lute or harp
To add more sweetness;—

B. V. v. 146,

On the contrary, a modern writer on the Origin and Progress of Language, hath laboured much to prove what Lucretius had said in fewer words, that the first men were mute, and that it was several ages before they could speak distinctly. The feelings of Lord M. would have been much hurt, if he had known that he was flatly contradicting a person of so amiable a character as St. Hildegardis, as well as Milton; for she tells us, that the voice of the first man was so extensively harmonious, that it contained the whole art of music, and was so powerful, that it would have been too much for degenerate ears; nay, that it was so sonorous, that when Adam began to sing, it frightened even the devil himself. But take the very words of this virgin-saint and prophetess, in the sermon which she preached in Latin to the good people of Mentz in the twelfth century. "Adam—in cujus voce sonus omnis harmoniæ et totius musicæ artis, antequam delinqueret, suavitas erat; ita ut si in illo statu, quo formatus erat, permanisset, infirmitas mortalis hominis virtutem et sonoritatem vocis illius ferre non posset. Cum autem deceptor ejus audisset, quod homo,—tam sonore cantare cœpisset,—exterritus est."

Who shall decide when lords with saints contend?

Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,—
V. 600.

The mighty regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
In their *triple degrees*;—

V. 748.

Those hierarchies that Jove's great will supply,
Whose orders formed in triplicities,
Holding their places by the treble trine,
Make up that holy theologike nine:
Thrones, Cherubin, and Seraphin, that rise
As the first three; when *Principalities*,
With *Dominations*, *Potestates*, are plac'd
The second; and the Ephionian last,
Which *Vertues*, Angels, and Archangels bee.
Drayton's Man in the Moone.

Every eye
Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
Among th' accurs'd, that wither'd all their strength.—
B. VI. v. 848.

This animated description resembles a passage in Æschylus, *Prometheus Vincitus*, v. 356.

The *swan* with *arched neck*
Between her white wings *mantling* proudly,—
B. VII. v. 438.

The jealous *swan*, there swimming in his pride,
With his *arch'd breast* the waters did divide.
Drayton's Man in the Moone.

Again:

Swanne,—
Which like a trumpet comes from his long *arched throat*.
Polyolbion, Song 25.

Mantling is a term in falconry.

Ne is there hawk which *mantleth* her on pearch.
Spenser's F. Q. B. VI. Cant. ii. St. 32.

That milky way,
Which nightly as a circling zone thou seest
Powder'd with stars,
V. 579.

Poudred with stars streaming with glorious light.
Sylvester's Du Bartas, 4th Day, 1st Week.

Again :

With glistering *stars* imboſt, and *poudred* rich.
Fourth Part of 2d Day of 2d Week.

Jortin, in his note on book XI. v. 565, introduces the following remark :

“Quod ſuperest, æs atque aurum, ferrumque repertum est,
 Et ſimul argenti pondus, plumbique potestas;
 Ignis ubi ingentes ſilvas ardore cremârat
 Montibus in magnis.

Lucret. lib. V. v. 1240.

These verses want emendation. *Plumbi potestas* is nonsense. The stop ſhould be placed thus :

Et ſimul argenti pondus plumbique, potestas
 Ignis ubi ingentes, &c.

Argenti pondus plumbique, as in Virgil, argenti pondus et auri. *Potestas ignis* expreſſes the conſuming power of fire. We have *potentia ſolis* in Virgil, and *potestas herbarum*.”

JORTIN.

If Dr. Jortin had examined the whole paſſage in Lucretius relating to the diſcovery of metals, and the uſes men firſt applied them to, he would not have thought any alteration neceſſary in the pointing.

Et terebrare etiam, ac pertundere, perque forare.
 Nec minus argento facere hæc auroque parabant,
 Quam validi primum violentis viribus æris :
 Nequicquam : quoniam cedebat *victa potestas*,
 Nec poterat pariter durum ſufferre laborem,
 Nam fuit in pretio magis æs, aurumque jacebat
 Propter inutilitatem hebeti mucrone retuſum.”

V. v. 1267.

No doubt the *potestas plumbi* in the former quotation hath the ſame meaning as the *potestas auri et argenti* in this. The plain import of this deſcription of the poet is, that metals were firſt diſcovered by the burning of foreſts, and that men valued the different ſorts, in early ages, according as they found them more or leſs hard, when they attempted to uſe them in ſuch tools and inſtruments as their occaſions required.

PARADISE REGAINED.

Sea or shore,
Freshet, or purling brook,—

B. II. 344.

With fragrant smells and fine
A *freshet* runs.

Hakluyt's Voyages, I. 566.

Shot
Sharp sleet of arrowy show'rs against the face—

III. 323.

Telorum, aut grandinis instar
Riphææ.

Stat. Theb. L. i. v. 419.

They were ymet
With a *sharpe showre of arrowes*, which them staid.
Spens. F. Q. B. V. Cant. iv. St. 38.

1786, Jan.

T. H. W.

MR. URBAN,

IF the following remarks are worth insertion in your useful Miscellany, they are much at your service.

*Sure he that made us, with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and God-like reason
To rust in us unused.—*

Ham. Shak. Act 4. Sc. 4.

Theobald produces two passages from Homer, where this thought occurs. See *Iliad* r. 109, *Iliad* z. 250. Mr. Gray, in the fragment of a most beautiful Ode on Vicissitude, has the same idea. Mr. Mason, in his edition, has not remarked it amongst his other imitations. See p. 95. Vol. I.

Their raptures now that wildly flow,
No yesterday, nor morrow know;
'Tis man alone that joy describes,
With forward, and reverted eyes.

The breezy call of incense breathing morn.

Elegy in C. C. Yard.

This epithet is suggested by Milton and unnoticed by Mr. Mason. See Par. Lost, B. IX. v. 192.

Now when a sacred light began to dawn,
In Eden, on the humid flowers that *breath'd*
Their morning incense,——

These shall the *fury passions* tear.

Eton Coll.

The *fury passions* from that flood began
And turn on man, a fiercer tyrant, man.—

Pope's 3d Eth. Ep.

The painful family of death.

Gray.

Hate, fear, and grief, the family of pain.

Pope's 2d Eth. Ep.

When Gray wrote his Church-yard, his mind seems to have been much tinctured with reading Tickell's Poem to the Earl of Warwick. It is difficult to produce passages that are immediately parallel. I must refer your readers, therefore, to the two pieces; the following imitations are amongst the most striking.

Proud names who once the reins of empire held.

Tickell.

Hands that the rod of empire might have held.

Gray.

What awe did the slow solemn knell inspire,
The *pealing organ*, and the pausing choir!

Tickell.

The *pealing anthem* swells the note of praise.

Gray.

Gray appears to have been a most attentive reader of Cowley, as he has adopted many of his occasional brilliances, which Dr. Hurd has pointed out in his edition; this, however, seems to have escaped him. Cowley beautifully exclaims:

Ye fields of Cambridge, our dear Cambridge, say
Have you not seen us walking every day? &c.

Hurd's Edit. Vol. I. p. 117.

— nor the vale
Of Alsbury, whose grass seems given out by *tale*.

Drayton, New Edit. p. 369, col. 1.

Milton seems to have been a great reader of Phineas Fletcher, and Drayton. I shall refer your readers to a few instances. See Fletcher, p. 173, sect. 58. "to try what may be." See Par. Lost, b. 1, 270. "eyes that sparkling blazed." Milton, 193. b. 1. See Fletcher, sect. 61, 174. See Par. Lost, b. 1, 48. See Fletcher, sect. 54, p. 174, "troop to the infernal jail," Ode on Ch. Nativity. "Troop the poor." Fletcher, p. 131. "numbers numberless." Fletcher, P. Island, 123. "shapeless shapes." Fletcher, 166, "nummed soul." Fletcher, 83, "imparadised." Fletcher, P. Island, p. 4. The expressive alliteration of Milton's combinations is, in some instances, to be found in both Fletcher and Drayton "valleys *dark and deep*." Drayton, Fol. Edit. p. 279, col. 1. "Ryedale dark and deep." 378, col. 1. "rude resort." Drayton, 337, 305, col. 2. "waste of waters." Drayton, 349, col. 1. Married applied to music, see Drayton, Fol. Ed. p. 52. col. 2. "whilst she sat under an *estate* of lawn." Drayton, p. 73. col. 1. Milton uses *state* in this sense. "Saily wings," Drayton, p. 368, col. 2. "flaggy sails," Fletch. P. Island, 173. See Milton's Par. Lost, b. 1, 225. Drayton's 15th Sonnet seems suggested by the story of Coucy, which is to be found in Howell's Letters, and in Baron's Cyprian Academy. Drayton has an idea which I never saw exceeded, though we frequently find common-place ideas of the kind; perhaps, notwithstanding its beauty, it has something the cast of a conceit.

"Whilst in their crystal eyes he doth for Cupids look."

The two following lines are a specimen of fine imagery, not easily to be equalled:

Her mantle richly wrought with sundry flowers;
Her moistful temples bound with quivering reeds.

Drayton, 326, col. 1.

Lord Rochester's verses on Nothing, which Dr. Johnson supposes might have been suggested by a Latin Poem, on that subject, by Passerat, might have arisen from some verses of P. Fletcher, on the same subject, see p. 70; or he might have found the idea in Crashaw, p. 14. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Upton did not live to complete his magnificent edition of Spenser; he has left all the minor poems unpublished. Spenser's incongruities, as well as his beauties, are without end. See Shep. Cal. April.

I see Calliope speed her to the place,
Where my goddess shines;
And after her the other Muses trace
With their violines.

See likewise Shep. Cal. June.

I saw Calliope with Muses moe,
Soon as thy oaten pipe began to sound
Their ivory lutes and *tamburins* forego.

From the ridiculous insignia of *violins* and *tamburins*, that are here assigned to the muses, we might almost be led to imagine that Spenser had seen a painting by Carlo Maratti, who has very facetiously drawn Apollo, playing on the fiddle, surrounded by the nine muses. The imitations of Spenser, which we find in Shakespeare, are not unfrequent; the following instance (if it comes under the head of an imitation) I do not recollect to have seen remarked. Cassius says of Cæsar, to Brutus:

Why, man, he doth bestride this narrow world,
Like a Colossus, and we, petty men,
Walk under his huge legs.

Jul. Cæs. Act 1. Sc. 2.

See F. Queen, B. 4. Cant. 10. St. 19.

But I, tho' meanest man of many moe,
Yet much disdaining unto him to lout,
Or creep between his legs.

"This bold bad man," occurs in Shakesp. Hen. VIII. Act 2. sc. 4. a mode of expression every where to be met with in Spenser; "like a pined ghost," Spenser, B. 3. Cant 2. 52. Shakespeare has this word in one of his most exquisite sonnets "hanging her pale and *pined* head beside."

—— With you bring triumphant *Mart*.

Spens. Introd. b. 1. Stan. 3.

This usage of the word *Mart* for *Mars* we find in Massinger's *Bashful Lover*. Mason's Edit. p. 289.

1786, *Feb.*

C—T—O.

LXXXVIII. Remarks on Warton's Edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems.

MR. URBAN,

HAVING received pleasure and information from Mr. Warton's edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems, I venture to send you a few remarks which were made when I perused it.

T. H. W.

Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more
Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never sere,
I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude,
And, with forc'd fingers rude,
Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.

Lycidas, ver. 1.

Et vos, O lauri, carpam, et te, proxima, myrte.

Virg. Ecl. 2. v. 54.

Δαφναι, in the note translated *Myrti*, is a remarkable instance of the editor's neglecting to revise. "The *mellowing year*," that is, the fall of the leaf, is not very properly applied by the poet to Laurels, Myrtles, and Ivy, which are all ever-greens, and change their leaves in the spring.

And bid fair peace be to my *sable shroud*.

Ver. 22.

It is observable that Shakespeare's shroud agrees with the modern.

White his shroud as the mountain snow.

Hamlet, Act IV. Sc. 5.

Whence did Milton and Mallet take their *sable shrouds*?

Clay-cold was her lily hand
That held her *sable shroud*.

Margaret's Ghost.

Together both, ere the high lawns appear'd
Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,
We drove afield, and both together heard
What time the gray-fly winds her *sultry horn*,
Batt'ning our flocks with the fresh dews of night.

V. 25.

Mr. Warton, in his concluding criticism on this poem, imagines, that by "the gray-fly winds her *sultry* horn," the Poet describes "the *sun-set* by the buzzing of the *chafer*." But morning, noon, and night, I apprehend, are here distinguished; *sultry* agrees much better with noon than with sun-set. The *horn of the gray-fly* is probably the peculiarly distinct tone of the gnat.* The chafer which flies in the evening, the *Scarabæus Melolontha*, emerges from the ground at the first expansion of the leaves, when the weather is seldom *sultry* at any time of the day; the flight of the solstitial chafer is, as its name implies, at Midsummer, and is not, like the other, confined particularly to the evening; but the appearance of both these insects is too local and temporary to have been alluded to by our poet in such general terms.

The pansy *freakt* with jet.

V. 144.

Or beauteous *freakt* with many a mingled hue.

Thomson's *Winter*, v. 813.

Johnson, in his Dictionary, erroneously supposes *freakt* to be a Scottish word, brought into England by Thomson.

He touch'd the tender stops of *various quills*.

V. 188.

By this imaginary pipe of *various quills*, the Doric flute, or the pipe of Pan, is intended, which the shepherd in Theocritus forms of nine points of equal length, placed by the side of each other. (*Idyl.* 8. v. 21.) But that of Virgil is composed of seven which are unequal. (*Ecl.* 2. v. 36.) Milton, in his fifth elegy, follows Virgil.

Nunc quoque *septena* modulatur arundine pastor.

V. 113.

L'ALLEGRO.

Heart-easing Mirth,
Whom lovely Venus at a birth,
With two sister Graces more,
To ivy-crowned † Bacchus bore:

* "Her waggoner, a small grey-coated gnat."

Rom. and Jul.

† *Κιββορομένης Διμυρίας*. Homer. *Κιββορομένης*. Greek Epig.

Or whether (as some *sager* sing)
 The frolick wind that breathes the spring,
 Zephyr with Aurora playing. V. 13.

As some SAGER sing. By this expression it appears that Milton is of opinion, that *Mirth* is rather the offspring of *Zephyr* and *Aurora*, that is, a temperate climate, and early hours, than of Bacchus and Venus: in this light I always understood the passage, and with deference think the alteration of *sager* to *sages* unnecessary.

Through the *sweet-briar*, or the vine,
 Or the twisted *eglantine*.

V. 47.

Sweet-briar and *Eglantine* are the same plant; by the epithet *twisted*, the poet seems to intend the honeysuckle or woodbine.

Sometimes with *secure* delight
 The *upland* hamlets will invite.

V. 91.

"Secured elight," "At *secura* quies." *Virg. Geo. II.* 467. *Upland* means *rude* or *uncultivated*, and is used in that sense to this day in Essex. Rustic festivities were anciently held at the borders of forests.

Mr. Warton cites in a note on v. 126, from the "Poetical Miscellanies of Phineas Fletcher, Cambr. 1633, 4to. p. 58."

Clad with a *saffron robe*, in's hand a *torch*.

But the real line of Fletcher is,

Clad with a *saffron coat*, in's hand a *light*.*

It is a pity the learned author suffers his works to be disgraced by inaccuracies so easily to be avoided.

Married to immortal verse.

V. 137.

To marry mine *immortal layes* to their's.

Sylvester's Du Bartas, 5th Day, 1st Week.

And add to these *retired Leisure*,
 That in *trim gardens* takes his pleasure.

-*Il Penseroso*, V. 49.

[*. This error is corrected in the second edition. E.]

Retired leisure is the Epicurean philosophy personified.
 “Inscriptum *hortulis* (Epicuri): *Hospes heic bene manebis, heic summum bonum voluptas est.*” *Senec. Epist. 21.*

Epicurum
 ——— exigui lætum plantaribus *horti*.

Juven. Sat. 13, v. 122.

However just the commentator's remarks may be on the quaint gardens of former centuries, there seems to be little foundation for fixing this taste on Milton in any part of his life; he does not place his *cheerful man* among clipped and distorted ever-greens, but,

By hedge-row elms on hillocks green;

and the prospect which entertains him is perfectly free from artificial decoration. Our poet's *pensive man* retreats

To arched walks of twilight groves,
 And shadows brown that Sylvan loves
 Of pine, or monumental oak,
 Where the rude axe with heaved stroke
 Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,
 Or fright them from their hallow'd haunt.

If there are any allusions to the topiary art in *Arcades*, they were intended as a compliment to his patroness at Harefield, where the gardens were probably in the prevailing taste of the times. That “*trim gardens*” does not necessarily imply unnatural ornament, is plain from

Meadows *trim* with daisies pied.

L' Allegro.

While the bee with honied thie
 That at her flowery work doth sing,
 And the waters murmuring
 With such consort as they keep,
 Entice the dewy-feather'd sleep.

V. 142.

See the small brookes——
 With the smooth cadence of their murmuring.
 Each bee with honey on her laden thye.

Drayton's Owle.

Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus;
 Somnos quod invitet leves.

Hor. Epod. 2. v. 27.

Approach, and kiss her *sacred vesture's hem*.
Arcades, v. 83.

“Fairfax, in the metrical dedication of his Tasso, to Queen *Anne*, commands his Muse not to approach too boldly, nor to soil

— Her *vesture's sacred hem*.”

WARTON.

What Queen *Anne* does Mr. Warton mean, and from what edition of Fairfax's translation does he quote “her vesture's *sacred hem*?” The edition before me is dedicated “To her high Majestie,” concluding, “Your Majesties humble *subject*,” and, as it was printed in 1600, can be applied to no other queen but Elizabeth. Anne of Denmark, the queen of James, did not come into England till the year 1603, and the verse is,

Her hand, her lap, *her vesture's hem*.

Poor Anne! her *vesture's hem*, was not held very *sacred* by her craven consort, or his minions.

O *thievish* night,
 Why should'st thou, but for some felonious end,—
Comus, v. 195.

Κλεπτων γαρ ἡ νύξ, τησδ' ἀληθείας το φως.

Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. v. 1226.

This might be rendered thus in old English; “the night is for thieves, but the day for *true men*.”

The folded flocks penn'd in their *wattled cotes*.
 V. 345.

Claudensque *textis cratibus lætum pecus*.
Hor. Epod. 2. v. 45.

Whence Milton,

Dum solus teneros *claudebam cratibus hædos*.
Epitaph. Damon. v. 141.

Thyrsis? whose artful strains have oft delay'd
 The huddling brook to hear his madrigal.
 V. 494.

——— Orphea ———

Arte materna, rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapsus.

Hor. lib. 1. Od. 12. v. 7.

I hate when vice can *bolt* her arguments.

V. 760.

Bolting meal at the *mill* is, I believe, a modern invention; and *bolting* would not so often have been alluded to by our ancient writers, if that process had been only carried on in the mill; but, a century ago, almost every family had a *bolting-hutch*, the use of which was consequently familiar to the poets of those times. Modern refinement hath obscured many allusions in our old authors, by consigning spinning, weaving, dying, and other formerly domestic employments, to different trades.

She woos the gentle air

To hide her guilty front with innocent *snow*.

Odes. Hymn on the Nativity, v. 38.

Hath not this Cowleyan conceit an impropriety in bringing *snow* so far south as Bethlehem, nearly in latitude thirty-one?

The winds with wonder whist

Smoothly the waters kist,

Whisp'ring new joys to the mild ocean,

Who now hath quite forgot to rave,

While birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave.

V. 64.

Perque dies placidos hiberno tempore septem

Incubat Halcyone pendentibus æquore nidis.

Tum via tuta maris; ventos custodit, et arcet

Æolus egressu.

Ovid. Met. lib. xi. v. 745.

Thy age, like our's, O soul of Sir John Cheek,

Hated not learning worse than toad or asp,

When thou taught'st Cambridge and King Edward Greek.

Sonnet xi. v. 12.

“ In Cambridge also, in St. Johns Colledge, in my time, I doe know, that not so much the good statutes, as two gentlemen of worthy memory, Syr John Cheke and Doctour Redman, by their onely example of excellencie in learning, of godliness in lyving, of diligence in studying, of counsell in exhorting, by good order in all things, did brede up; so

many learned men, in that one colledge of St. Johns, at one tyme as I beleeeve, the universitie of Louaine, in many yeares was never able to affourd." *Ascham's Scholemaster*, 1st booke, 1576.

1786, March.

LXXXIX. Critical Remarks on Milton.

MR. URBAN,

IF the following remarks on Milton are worth insertion, they are much at your service.

C—T—O.

Mr. Warton, in his entertaining and masterly remarks on Spenser, very properly takes occasion to censure an expression in Milton, in the following words: "Milton, perhaps, is more blamable for a fault of this kind.

Now had they brought the work, by wondrous art
Pontifical. *Par. Lost. b. X.*

As the ambiguous term *pontifical* may be so easily construed into a pun, and may be interpreted *popish* as well as *bridge-making*, besides the quaintness of the expression." To this remark of Mr. Warton, let me add the following epigram from the poems of Sannazarius:

De Jucundo Architecto.

Jucundus geminos fecit tibi, Sequana, pontes,
Jure tuum hunc possis dicere *pontificem*.

Milton's idea of Sin and Death's creeping from the mouth of Error is generally supposed to be copied from Spenser, B. 1. C. 1. St. 15. It might have had its origin from P. Fletcher, of whom Milton was equally a borrower. See P. Island, 12. Cant. 27.

The first that crept from his detested maw
Was Hamartia, &c. &c.

There is a passage of great sublimity in Milton's Vacation Exercise.

The deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at heaven's door
Look in.

Molinæus, Milton's old antagonist, has an idea somewhat similar. See his *Pacis Cælestis Anticipatio*!

Quo tendis anime? Tene dum carnis scapha
Vectus laboras in procelloso mari,
Penetrare cælos, et fores celsissimæ
Serenitatis pulsitare fas putas?

The following amongst Milton's many obligations to Ariosto, seems to have been unnoticed :

As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest; with such delay
Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a league,
Chear'd with the grateful smell, old Ocean smiles.

Par. Lost, B. IV. v. 159.

Dal mar sei miglia, o sette, a poco a poco
Si va salendo in verso il colle ameno.
Mirti, e cedri, e naranci, e lauri il loco,
E mille altri soavi arbori han pieno.
Serpillo, e persa, e rose, e gigli, e croco
Spargon dall' odifero terreno
Tanta soavità, che'n mar sentire
La fa ogni vento, che da terra spire.

Cant. xviii. 138.

I hate when vice can *bolt* her arguments.

Comus, 760.

Of this plain, and seemingly intelligible passage, I have heard it observed (and I believe Mr. T. Warton has sheltered the opinion under his authority) that the word *bolt* here is an expression taken from the *bolting-mill*, and means, 'to sift, to clear.' But surely this cannot be the meaning Milton intended it to convey. The word here seems simply to convey the idea of darting, and is a borrowed term from archery. It is thus literally used by B. Jonson, in his "Volpone :"

But angry Cupid *bolting* from his eyes
Hath *shot* himself into me.

Act ii. Scene 4.

In Shakespeare it is thus metaphorically used in Milton's sense, where Imogen awakes and finds herself near the dead body of Cloten:

I hope I dream,
For so I thought I was a cave-keeper,
And cook to honest creatures; but 'tis not so,
'Twas but a *bolt* of nothing, *shot* at nothing,
Which the brain makes of fumes.

Cymb.

See likewise Marston's "What you will," 1607:

Ignorance should *shoot*
Her gross-knobbed bird *bolt*.

This last passage I found in a quotation, and am unable therefore to determine whether the meaning is literal or metaphorical.

It is hoped the following passages, which are intended to illustrate my meaning still further, will not be deemed unnecessary.

Orator quoque maximus et *jaculator*.

Juv. Sat. vii. 193.

Jaculator here must mean arguer.

Aut curtum sermone rotato
Torqueat enthymema.

Juv. Sat. vi. 448.

Quis color, et quod sit causæ genus, atque ubi summa
Quæstio, quæ veniant diversa parte *sagittæ*.

Juv. Sat. vii. 155.

Where the great vision of the *guarded mount*, &c. &c.

Lycidas, 161.

Mr. T. Warton has most happily, and most poetically, explained this passage. It seems to have been called *the mount* by way of eminence. See Daniel's Panegyrick on the King's Majesty, 19 stan.

Could'st thou but see from Dover to *the mount*,
From Totness to the Orcades;—

Their lean and *flashy* songs.

Lycid. 123.

Flashy is here used in a bad sense, as indeed it always is in English. The word *vibrans* in Latin is used in a good sense when applied to composition. See Cicero de Oratore, “et erat oratio cum incitata et *vibrans* tum etiam accurata et polita,” speaking of Hortensius.

With wild thyme and the *gadding* vine o’ergrown.

Lycid. 40.

This epithet of *gadding* is singularly expressive. He has an expression equally happy in Comus, see 545, “*flaunting* honey-suckle.” This Thomson has adopted, and applies to the woodbine :

nor in the bower,
Where woodbines *flaunt*. *Spring*, 976.

Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
Clos’d o’er the head of your lov’d Lycidas ? 50

This idea, which is taken originally from Theocritus, and has been repeatedly remarked, is likewise in Spenser’s *Astrophel*.

Ah ! where were ye, this while, his shepherd peers,
To whom alive was nought so dear as he ?
And ye, fair maids, the matches of his years,
Which in his grace did boast you most to be ?
Ah ! where were ye, when he of you had need,
To stop his wound that wond’rously did bleed ?

Spenser.

Weep no more, woeful shepherds, weep no more,
For Lycidas your sorrow is not dead.

Lycidas, 165.

Spenser thus finely exclaims :

O what is now of it become, aread :
Aye me ! can so divine a thing be dead ?
Ah, no, it is not dead, ne can it die,
But lives for aye in blissful paradise.

In Cleaveland’s Poems, edit. 1665, there are some bad verses “on the memory of Mr. Edward King, drowned in the Irish seas ;” the same probably whom Milton laments.

The idea of Uriel's descending on a *sun-beam*, Par. Lost, book IV. which has been proved to be borrowed in Milton, seems to have given a hint to Dr. Young, when he said,

*Perhaps a thousand demigods descend
On ev'ry beam we see, to walk with men.*

Night 9.

See Par. Regained, b. II. 292,

And enter'd soon the shade
High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,
That open'd in the midst a woody scene;
Nature's own work it seem'd, (Nature taught Art)
And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs.

See Drayton's Polyolbion, 26 song,

And in a dingle near (even as a place divine,
For contemplation fit) an ivy-ceiled bower,
As Nature had therein ordain'd some Sylvan power.

Surging waves, Par. Lost, b. VII. 214. Drayton has *unsurging* seas. See folio edit. p. 200, col. 2. This word, which seldom occurs in any of our later poets, is to be found likewise in the Mirror for Magistrates, edit. 1610. Sir Neptune's *surging* seas, p. 197. Amongst Milton's Latinisms we find *facile* gates, Par. Lost, b. IV. 967. This word occurs in Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, see p. 85. *facile* means.

In full harmonic number join'd, their songs
Divide the night, and *lift our thoughts to heaven.*

Par. Lost, b. IV. 687.

Make of your prayers one sweet sacrifice,
And *lift my soul to heaven.*

Shakesp. Hen. VIII.

Iris there, with humid bow,
Waters th' odorous banks, that *blow*
Flowers of more mingled hue, &c.

Comus, 992.

Blow is here used neutrally for makes to blow, like *assiduo resonat cantu*, see Virgil, lib. VII. 12.

See Milton, Par. Lost, b. II. The character of Moloch seems to have given Addison many hints in his formation of the character of Sempronius. The same boisterousness and impetuosity is the prominent feature of both characters. Moloch exclaims,

My sentence is for open war, Line 51.

In Cato, Sempronius says,

My voice is still for war.

See what Addison says, Spectator, Vol IV. No. 309.

(Loose his beard and hoary hair
Stream'd like a meteor to the troubled air.)
Gray's Bard.

This simile seems to have been suggested by a passage in Milton, Par. Lost, b. I. where Azazel unfurls the standard,

which, full high advanced,
Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind. Line 536.

In the same Ode Gray goes on,

Girt with many a baron bold, &c.

Milton says,

And what resounds
In fable or romance of Uther's son
Begirt with British and Armoric knights. Line 579.

For who would lose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being, &c. &c.

Milton, Par. Lost, b. II. 146.

Though the thought is much finer in Gray, and very different, the cast of this passage is not unlike his well known

For who to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing anxious being e'er resign'd.

As when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, &c.
If chance the radiant sun with *farewell sweet*
Extends his evening beam, the fields revive, &c. &c.
Milton, Par. Lost, b. II. 488.

This beautiful expression is to be found in a rather obscure passage of Shakespeare. See Henry VI. Act II. Sc. i. Part 3.

See how the morning opes her golden gates,
And takes her *farewell* of the glorious sun.

Mr. Gray has an expression of this sort in a most exquisite stanza, very justly commended by Mr. Mason, which is not inserted in his Elegy:

Him have we seen the greenwood side along,
While o'er the heath we hied our labour done,
Oft as the woodlark pip'd her *farewell* song,
With wistful eyes pursue the setting sun.

If my memory does not deceive me, I think I recollect a more immediate imitation of the passage in Milton in a beautiful little poem of Dr. J. Warton's, but for the want of the book am unable to quote it.*

Gray, who hardly ever borrows ideas from any author whatever of his own country, has occasionally honoured Milton by imitating him. He has taken a whole line from his L'Allegro, line 59.

Right against the eastern gate,
Where the great sun begins his state.

Right against the eastern gate
By the moss-grown pile he sate.

Descent of Odin.

He has adopted an attribute from Milton's Penseroso: see his Description of Melancholy.

There held in holy passion still,
Forget thyself to marble, till
With a sad leaden downward cast
Thou fix them on the earth as fast.

[* It is in the last line of his Ode to Evening:

O modest Evening! oft let me appear
A wand'ring votary in thy pensive train,
List'ning to every wildly-warbling note,
That fills with *farewell* sweet thy dark'ning plain. E.]

And melancholy, silent maid,
With leaden eye that loves the ground.

Gray's Ode to Adversity.

At best the expression is a very unpoetical one, and hardly worth borrowing. In Milton it is still worse, from its contrast with the foregoing image of *forgetting herself to marble*.

Milton describes Sabrina with *amber-dropping hair*, Comus, 863. We find the same attribute given to the daughters of Sabrina in Withers's Epithalamia, edit. 1622. *Locks of amber* are given to the sun in Sylvester's Du Bartas, p. 140.

Where's Sabrina with her daughters
That do sport about her waters;
Those that with their *locks of amber*
Haunt the fruitful hills of Camber?

Milton a little further on talks of *diamond rocks*, 881. G. Fletcher, in his Christ's Victorie, part I. st. 61, edit. 1610. has "maine rocks of diamound." To Mr. Warton's note on Comus, 837, I beg leave to add the following similar passage from Bion εις Υακινθον. Idyll. ix. 3.

Χρειεν δ' αμβροσιη και νεκταρι, χρειεν απασαν
Ωτειλαν. Μοιραισι δ' αναλθια φαρμακα παντα.

Ungebat etiam ambrosia et nectare, ungebat totum
Vulnus: sed Parcis omnia remedia vana sunt.

To the note, 5 Eleg. p. 462, in which Mr. Warton's observes the circumstance of Milton's composing early in the morning, I beg leave to add the following passage from Horace, B. II. Ep. 1, l. 112.

prius orto
Sole, vigil calamum, et chartas, et scrinia posco.

These intimations, which we discover in great writers themselves relative to their lives or their works, are always acceptable to well-directed curiosity. Milton uses a compound epithet that might have been suggested to him by Spenser.

The *sun-clad* power of chastity.

Comus, 782.

Sun-bright honour.

Shep. Calen. October.

To Mr. Warton's excellent note on "the great vision of

the guarded mount," Lycid. 161, let me add, that Spenser had introduced this, probably for the first time, into our poetry. See Shep. Calend. July, where Morrel says,

In evil hour thou henst in hond
Thus holy hills to blame;
For sacred unto Saints they stood,
And of them han their name.
*St. Michel's Mount who does not know,
That wards the Western coast? &c.*

Compare this with the old rhymes quoted by Mr. Warton from Carew.

Milton calls the song of the nightingale *love-labour'd*, Par. Lost, b. V. 41. Spenser has something like this when he talks of "the birds *love-learned* song," vol. V. 95, Hughes's edit. Milton says of the birds,

but feather'd soon and fledg'd
They *summ'd* their pens.
Par. Lost, b. VII. 420.

Drayton has this phrase:

The Muse from Cambria comes, with *pinions summ'd* and sound.

Polyolb. Song 11.

It is evident, from what has been adduced by his several commentators, that Milton was not averse to borrowing hints from the popular poets of his day; and it is more than probable that many of his finest images were originally suggested by passages so much inferior from his improvement on them as to be now scarcely discernible. He must have been an attentive reader of "The Purple Island." I mention it, therefore, in order to observe, that the earliest personification of *Contemplation*, I know of in our poetry, is to be found there, where it is styled,

—— *still-musing* Contemplation.

Cant. 9. St. 12.

Pope has his "*ever-musing* Melancholy." Milton's "cherub Contemplation" is, I believe, the next that we find. Milton describes the lark as "startling the dull night," Alleg. 42. He might, previously to his writing the passage, have been struck with a very lively description of the same subject in the above-mentioned Canto of Fletcher.

The cheerful lark, mounting from early bed,
 With sweet salutes awakes the drowsie light.
 The earth she left, and up to heaven is fled,
 There chants her maker's praises out of sight.

Stan. 2.

Browne had been beforehand with them both in one of his Pastorals :

Here danc'd no nymph, no *early-rising larke*
Sung up the ploughman and his drowsie mate.

Vol. II. Book II. Song 1. p. 28.

Compare Drayton's Description of Elysium from p. 1445 to 1448, Oldys's edit. vol. IV. with Milton, from 240 to 268, Par. Lost. book IV.

Dr. J. Warton has observed on Mr. T. Warton's edition of Milton's Minor Poems, p. 159, that our great Bard has coined many beautiful compound epithets. Among many that he instances, he mentions *love-darting eyes*. Milton no doubt, has enriched our language with some epithets of the kind of his own coinage; but in general he had recourse to Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas, a very fertile store-house for materials of this kind, and he might there probably have found *love-darting*, as it there occurs :

Whoso beholds her sweet *love-darting eyn*.

P. 186, ed. 1641.

I will lay before the reader many epithets of much merit extracted from the before-mentioned Translator. "Honey-steeped style," 64; "figure-flowing pen," 124; "soule-charm image," 124; "Heaven-tuned harp," 124; "rose-crowned Zephyrus," 123; "forest-haunting herds," 123; "opal-coloured morn," 121; "ghastly-grim," applied to Death, 50; "bright-brown clouds," 127; "milde-eyd Mercy," 141; "bane-breath'd serpent," 133; "many-towred crest," 128: but I have already enumerated more than perhaps are necessary. Peck also had been beforehand with Dr. W. on this particular in Milton; see pp. 117, 18, 19, of his Memoirs. But I think our divine Bard is under higher obligations to Sylvester than for an occasional epithet. From a very exuberant description of Sleep, his cell, attendants, &c. the following is transcribed :

In midst of all this cave so dark and deep,
 On a still-rocking couch lies blear-ey'd Sleep.

.....
 Oblivion lies hard by her drowsie brother,
 Who readily knowes not her selfe nor other :
 Then solitary *Morpheus* gently rockt :

.....
 Confusedly about the silent bed
Fantastick swarms of *Dreams* there hovered.
 Green, red, and yellow, tawny, black, and blue :
 Some sacred, some profane; some false, some true ;

.....
 They made no noyse, but right resemble may
Th' unnumber'd moats which in the sun do play,
 When (at some cranny) with his piercing eye
 He peepeth in some darker place to spy.
 Thither th' Almighty (with a just intent
 To plague those tyrants' pride) his angels sent,
 No sooner entred, but the radiant shine
 Of's glistring wings, and of his glorious eyn,
 As light as noon makes the darke house of night,
 The *gawdy swarm* of dreams is put to flight, &c.

This page of Du Bartas was before Milton when he wrote
 as follows :

Hence vain deluding joys

.....
 Dwell in some idle brain,
 And fancies fond with *gaudy shapes* possess,
 As thick and numberless
As the gay motes that people the sun-beams,
 Or likest hovering *dreams*
'The fickle pensioners of Morpheus' train.

Il Pens.

When Milton wrote,

part huge of bulk
 Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,
Tempest the ocean : there leviathan,
 Hugest of living creatures, *on the deep*
Stretch'd like a promontory, sleeps or swims,
And seems a moving land.

Par. Lost, b. VII. 410.

he had the following lines of Sylvester before him :

When on the surges I perceive from far,
 Th' ork, whirl-poole whale, or huffing physeter,
Methinks I see the wand'ring isle again
(Ortygian Delos) floating on the main.
 And when in combat these fell monsters cross,
 Me seems some *tempest* all the seas doth toss.

P. 40.

Dr. Young has borrowed Milton's term "*to tempest*," which was suggested by Du Bartas.

those too strong
 Tumultuous rise and *tempest* human life

Night 7.

Mr. Warton, in a note, p. 286, vol. II. "History of English Poetry," says, that Milton, when he mentions the swan, the cock, and the peacock, together, Par. Lost, b. VII. 438, had his eye upon a passage in Douglas, a fine old Scotch poet: but I am inclined to believe him mistaken, and rather to have had his eye on a passage in Du Bartas, who mentions the crane, peacock, and cock, together:

the *crested cock*, whose *clarion* sounds
The silent hours; and th' other, whose gay train
 Adorns him, colour'd with the florid hue
 Of rainbows and *starry-eyes*.

Milton.

There the *fair peacock*, beautifully brave,
 Proud, portly-strutting, stalking, stately-grave,
 Wheeling his *starry-trayn*, in pomp displayes
 His glorious *eyes* to Phœbus' golden rayes.
 Close by his side stands the courageous *cock*,
Crest-people's king, the *peasant's trusty clock*,
 True morning watch, Aurora's trumpeter, &c.

Sylvester, p. 46. ed. 1641.

Milton had just before mentioned the crane.

1786, May and June.

C. T. O.

1787, Dec.

XC. Parallel Passages in Authors of Note.

MR. URBAN,

THE following miscellaneous observations are much at your service.

C. T. O.

MALLET, who is by no means despicable as a minor poet, deserves more credit for his *Edwin and Emma* than for any other of his works. He seems to have had Shakespeare in his eye in the following stanza:

Nor let the pride of great ones scorn
This charmer of the plains;
That sun which bids their diamond blaze
To deck our lily deigns.

Ed. and Em.

See Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, Act. IV. Sc. 3.

The self-same sun, that shines upon his court,
Hides not his visage from our cottage, but
Looks on alike———”

The following passage from *Daniel*, which forms a part of a very beautiful and pathetic speech of Richard, during his confinement at Pomfret, is not unlike a passage in Shakespeare.

Thou sitt'st at home, safe by thy quiet fire,
And hear'st of others' harms, but feelest none;
And there thou tell'st of kings, and who aspire,
Who fall, who rise, who triumph, who do moan—
Perhaps thou talk'st of me.

Civil War, B. iii. St. 66.

See Shakespeare,—

———let's away to prison:
We two alone will sing like birds i' th' cage;
When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down,
And ask of thee forgiveness: so we'll live,
And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh
At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
Talk of court news; and we'll talk with them too,
Who loses, and who wins; who's in, who's out; &c. &c.
Lear, Act 5. Sc. 3.

M. Drayton, in the following passage, reminds us of a most spirited description in Shakespeare's Henry IV.

Prince Edward all in gold, as he great Jove had been,
The Mountfords all in plumes, like estriches were seen.

Page 342. fol. edit.

All furnish'd, all in arms,
All plum'd like estridges, and with the wind
Baiting like eagles having lately bath'd;
Glittering in *golden coates* like images;
As full of spirit as the month of May,
And gorgeous as the sun at Midsummer;
Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls.
I saw young Harry, with his beaver up,
His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,
Rise from the ground like feather'd Mercury.

Shakespeare.

Drayton, in a passage where he personifies the Peak of Derbyshire, has the following idea, which reminds us of a very sublime passage in Shakespeare that becomes ridiculous from a single vulgar expression, as has been before remarked by Dr. Johnson, in his Rambler:

O ye, my lovely joys, my darlings, in whose eyes
Horror assumes her seat, from whose abiding flies
Thick vapours, *that like rugs still hang the troubled air.*

Polyolb. Song 26.

See Macbeth—where he talks of the *blanket of the night*.
Spenser seems to have suggested the leading idea in that well-known song in Cymbeline, beginning

Hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings;
My lady sweet arise—

without the hyperbole of heaven's gate—

Wake now, my love, awake; for it is time;
The rosy morn long since left Tithon's bed,
All ready to her silver coach to clime,
And Phœbus 'gins to shew his glorious head.
Hark, how the chearful birds do chaunt their layes,
And carol of love's praise.
The merry lark her mattins sings aloft,

.

Ah! my dear love, why do ye sleep thus long,
When meeter were that ye should now awake?

Hughes's Spen. V. p. 95.

It is singular that this passage should not be quoted in Johnson's and Steevens's Shakespeare.

There is a similarity in the following expressions of Shakespeare and Cowley.

—— that but this blow
Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
But here, upon this bank and shoal of time—

Macbeth, Act I. Sc. 7.

Cowley, speaking of this world—

Vain weak-built isthmus, which does proudly rise
Up betwixt two eternities.

Cowley's Life and Fame.

What Dr. Johnson has said of Akenside, *Life*, p. 442, reminds us of the following passages:

The words are multiplied till the sense is hardly perceived;
attention deserts the mind, and settles in the ear. Johnson.

And call the *listning soul into the ear.*

Oldham's Ode on St. Cecilia.

None was so marble; but, whilst him he hears,
His soul so long dwelt only in his ears.

Elegy on Dr. Donne, by Sir L. Cary.

And here a female atheist *talks you dead.*

Johnson's London.

Nay, fly to altars; there they'll *talk you dead.*

Pope's Essay on Crit.

Celestial themes confess'd his tuneful aid;
And heaven that lent him genius was repaid.

Goldsm. Epit. on Dr. Parnell.

This last line contains the same thought with a stanza in Dr. Johnson's *Elegy on Levett*:

His virtues walk'd their narrow round,
Nor made a pause; nor left a void;
And sure th' Eternal Master found
The single talent well employ'd.

Dr. Johnson has said, that *gloriosus* is never used in a good sense: we find it, however, used in a good sense by a very

old poet, if that is sufficient authority to justify such a usage. See Nævius, quoted by Aulus Gellius :

Etiam qui res magnas manu sæpe gessit gloriose,
Cujus facta viva nunc vigent——

There is probably no imitation in the following passages—they express, however, somewhat the same sentiment :

Nor are our powers to perish immature,
But, after feeble effort here, beneath
A brighter sun, and in a nobler soil,
Transplanted from this sublunary bed,
Shall flourish fair, and put forth all their bloom.
Young's Complaint.

Believe the Muse : the wintry blast of death
Kills not the buds of virtue ; no, they spread
Beneath the heavenly beams of brighter suns,
Through endless ages into higher powers.
Thompson's Summer, l. 580.

Discord in parts makes harmony in the whole.
Daniel's Queen's Arcadia, Sc. 3.

All discord, harmony not understood.
Pope's Essay on Man.

This is the ταν Διος ἀγρονιαν of Æschylus. See Prometh. Vinct. 553.

1786, Sept.

XCI. On Pope's Imitation of our early Poets.

MR. URBAN,

IF the following remarks on Pope are worth insertion in your Magazine, they are much at your service.

O si sic omnia !——

From the great merit of the Eloisa to Abelard, the Temple of Fame, part of the Windsor Forest, and the Elegy upon an Unfortunate Lady, it is much to be regretted that Pope's mind was so little accustomed to the simpler beauties and distinct imagery of our earlier models ; they would have taught him a more frequent use of compound epithets, and, instead of that general cast which is too much the

characteristic of many of his lines, we should have had juster personification, and imagery more appropriate, of course more poetry and less versification—that fastidious eye of correct judgment, with which he surveyed both men and manners, seduced him from the fablings of fancy, the picturesque scenes of animated nature, and the latent beauties of antiquity;—perhaps his bodily infirmities, added to a considerable share of constitutional bile, might have had great influence in directing the pursuits of his mind; at least by embittering it, they led him to carping, satire, and dry morals—*absit verbo invidia*!—I would not be understood to detract from his great and almost superior merits as a moralist; but, I mean, dry as opposed to poetry addressed to the imagination—it must give concern to every feeling reader to find, so large a portion of a valuable life given to translations and imitations, to the lavish abuse of his Dunciad, and the insipid innocence of his pastorals. In adopting occasional phrases from our older poets, it is curious to observe what art Pope has shewn in the selection; and in his imitations of passages, what improvement he has made on his originals.—The ingenious Mr. T. Warton has before noticed his obligations, in this way, to Milton.—It appears from his letters that he was a reader of Crashaw; with what attention he read him, the following instances are sufficient to discover.—It is to be lamented, that Mr. Phillips, in his late edition of Crashaw, has omitted the Poems upon Theological subjects; many of his beauties, by this means, are lost; and, unluckily, those passages which seem more immediately to have dwelt upon the mind of Pope: surely the whole volume might have been republished with great safety. Readers, who concern themselves with Crashaw, concern themselves with him not as a Divine, but as a Poet.

See Crashaw, Edit. 1570, p. 204. Description of a religious house, and condition of life (from Barclay). Pope's mind seems to have caught many hints from this when he wrote his Eloisa to Abelard.

A hasty portion of prescribed sleep,
Obedient slumbers that can wake and weep.

Crashaw.

Labour and rest that equal periods keep,
Obedient slumbers that can wake and weep.

Pope.

No roofs of gold o'er riotous tables shining,
Whole days and suns devoured with endless dining,

No sails of Tyrian silk *proud pavements* sweeping,
&c. &c.

- - - - -
- - - - -

But *walks and unshorn woods*;—

Crashaw.

No weeping orphan saw his father's stores
Our shrines irradiate, or emblaze the *floors*,
No silver saints, by dying misers given,
Here bribe the rage of ill-requited heaven.
But such *plain roofs* as piety could raise.

Pope.

In these *lone walks*.

Pope.

Crashaw, oddly describing the woods that surround the Religious House, says,

————— the natural locks
Of these loose groves, rough as th' unpolished rocks—

This is what Pope means when he says,

Ye grots and caverns *shagg'd with horrid thorn*.—

The most tender circumstance in all Pope's Epistle, is, perhaps, the idea beginning at the 347th line.—

If ever chance two wandering lovers brings, &c. &c.

This is evidently suggested by a passage in the *Alexias*, the complaint of the forsaken wife of St. Alexis, 1st Elegy,

And sure where lovers make their watery graves,
The weeping mariner will augment the waves,
For who so hard, but passing by that way,
Will take acquaintance of my woes, and say,
Here 'twas the Roman Maid found a hard fate,
While through the world she sought her wand'ring mate,
Here perish'd she, poor heart! Heaven be my vows
As true to me as she was to her spouse.—

Crashaw.

If these lines are deficient in elegance, they make it up in sentiment and simplicity:

For thee I talk to trees, with silent groves
Expostulate my woes and much wrong'd loves,

Hills and *relentless rocks*, or if there be
Things that in hardness more allude to thee.

Crashaw, 2 Elegy.

This epithet Pope has taken :

Relentless walks, whose darksome round contains, &c. &c.

How sweet the mutual yoke of man and wife,
When holy fires maintain love's heavenly life!

Crashaw, 3 Elegy.

Pope, though his idea is different, has an exclamation somewhat similar—

Oh happy state ! when souls each other draw,
When love is liberty, and nature law.—

Crashaw says most beautifully of Hope, what Pope has transferred to Faith—

Fair Hope ! our earlier Heaven, by thee
Young time is taster to eternity.—

Fresh blooming Hope, gay daughter of the sky,
And *Faith* our *early immortality*.

Pope.

Whether Pope was a reader of the poetry of Phineas Fletcher, I know not ; in his *Eloisa to Abelard*, he has the following phrase, which we find likewise in Fletcher :

See my lips tremble and my eye-balls roll,
Suck my last breath, and catch my *flying soul*.

Pope.

And by his side, *sucking his fleeting breath*,
His weeping spouse, *Elisa*.

Fletcher.

Where *sprawl* the saints of Verrio and Languerre,
is a line in Pope's *Epistles*, which Dr. Warton has noticed for the peculiar felicity of the word *sprawl* : it is used with the same felicity and force by Drayton, *B. Warrs*, 6 B. XLII. where he describes the painted roof of the tower of Mortimer—

Where, as among the naked Cupids *sprawl*,
Some at the sundry-coloured birds do shoot,
Some swarming up to pick the purple fruit.

We find a passage in Drayton, *B. Warrs*, 5 B. XLIII. not unlike lines from the 241 to the 244 *Epist. Eloisa to Abelard*.

See likewise a passage in Young's Night Thoughts, 1 Night, beginning with,

'Tis past conjecture, all things rise in proof—

Drayton has the word *touch*, in the same sense Pope has used it, in the invocation to his Muse—Polyolb.—

Touch my invention so with thy true genuine heat.—

Had Pope been a reader of Quarles, which possibly, by the bye he might have been, notwithstanding he has given him a niche in the Dunciad, he would have taught him the art of reasoning in verse much better than Blackmore, whom Dr. Johnson has recommended for that purpose; there is an energy and compression in some of Quarles' lines, not to be found in any of his contemporaries; but, as to versification—what could Dr. Johnson mean by supposing him to stand in need of any instruction on that head?—There is a moral and philosophical cast in some passages of Quarles not unlike Pope, in his Essay on Man. See the whole of the 11th Meditation, Job Militant:—

Since thou art dead (Lord,) grant thy servant roome
Within his breast to build thy heart a toombe.

These lines of Quarles, p. 75, edit. 1630, contain the same idea with that in Gay's Epitaph, upon which so much has been said:

But that the worthy and the good may say,
Striking their pensive bosoms, "Here lies Gay."
Pope.

The thought is old; it is said of Sir P. Sidney, by Spenser,
In worthy hearts sorrow hath made thy tomb.

Dr. Johnson's criticism on this line of Pope is equally as destitute of common sense as of common feeling.—See Dr. J. Wharton, likewise, on Pope, vol. I. p. 95, who calls the idea *forced and far-fetched*—for which I see no tolerable reason.*

1786, April.

T—C—O.

[* We cannot help subscribing to Dr. Warton's opinion. E.]

XCII. Critique on a Passage in Virgil,

MR. URBAN,

VIRGIL, in his praises and commendations of a country life, hath the following verse :

Fundit humo facilem victum *justissima* tellus.

Georg. II. 460.

The peculiar epithet *justissima* is, I apprehend, copied from the succeeding fragment of Philemon : * though it hath escaped the observation of Macrobius and Ursinus, and is not to be found in the literary dirt which Bentley and Le Clerc amused themselves with exchanging in their publications concerning Menander and Philemon.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤΑΤΟΝ κλημ' εστιν ανθρωποις αγρος.
 Ων η φυσις δεῖλαι γαρ επιμελως φερει.

“ A field is the *justest* possession which a man can have, for it diligently produces those things which nature requires.”

As the above-mentioned dramatic writers were contemporaries and competitors for theatrical fame, it is not improbable that the following passage of Menander was intended to ridicule the foregoing quotation from Philemon :

Αγρον ευσεβησερον γεωργειν εδενα
 Οιμαι· φερει γαρ ως Θεοις ανθη καλα,
 Κιτλον, δαφνην· κριθας δ' εαν σπειρω ΠΑΝΥ
 ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ απεδωκεν τας' οσσ' αν καταβαλω.

“ I am sure no one ever cultivated a more religious field than mine ; for it bears beautiful flowers, ivy, and laurel, as if to adorn the altars of the gods ; but if I sow it with barley, this very *just field* is sure to return me exactly as much as I sowed.”

There is a vein of elegant irony in this passage, which makes us much regret, that we have not the works of this comic writer complete. We could well have spared all the coarse jests of Aristophanes, which degrade the Athenian audience who could endure them, for a few plays written with the same taste and spirit as this quotation. It is particularly unfortunate that Terence, who is said to have done

[* “ Γηδιον δικαιοτατον,” occurs in Xenophon’s *Cyropæd.* E.]

little more than translate Menander, should have neglected and omitted every spark of his humour and pleasantry. As it is the distinguishing criterion of genuine wit to bear transferring from one language to another, what could induce Scipio and Lælius, when they assisted Terence, to patronize this defect, which Julius Cæsar, within a century afterward, in his well-known epigram, laments so emphatically?

Vis

Comica
Unum hoc maceror et doleo tibi deesse, Terenti.

Yours, &c.

1786, June,

T. H. W.

XCIII. Strictures on Dr. Johnson's Criticism on Milton's Latinity.

—————*Fragili quærens illidere dentem,
Offendet solido.*

HOR.

MILTON'S supreme pleasure, Dr. Johnson says, is to tax his adversary (Salmasius), so renowned for criticism, with vicious Latin. "He opens his book with telling that he has used *persona*, which, according to Milton, signifies only a *mask*, in a sense not known to the Romans, by applying it as we apply *person*. But as Nemesis is always on the watch, it is memorable that he has enforced the charge of solecism by an expression in itself grossly solecistical, when for one of these supposed blunders he says, Propino te grammatistis tuis *vapulandum*. From *vapulo*, which has a passive sense, *vapulandus* can never be derived." *Lives of English Poets*.

I will endeavour to shew that the Doctor's criticism is totally without foundation.

We find "*vapulando et somno pereo*" at the conclusion of the first act of Plautus's *Curculio*. In the second scene of the fourth act of the *Pænulus*, we have,

Ut enim mihi *vapulandum est*, tute corium sufferas.

And in the *Adelphi* of Terence (Act II. Sc. 2.), we read,

Ego *vapulando*, verberando ille, usque ambo defessi sumus.

This critic, finding the word *gloriosissimus* in a passage he quoted from Milton's Second Defence of the People,

tells us in a note, that "it may be doubted whether *gloriosissimus* be here used with Milton's boasted purity. *Res gloriosa* is an *illustrious thing**, but *vir gloriosus* is commonly a *braggart*, as in *miles gloriosus*."

That it is sometimes so used cannot be denied; but, if there is proper authority for its being used otherwise, Milton will be justified. In the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, (Act II. Sc. 3.) the Doctor might have found.

Atque ego nunc me *gloriosum* faciam, &c.

And in Valerius Maximus we read, "Tarquinius Priscus ad Romanum imperium occupandum fortuna in urbem nostram advexit; alienum, quod ortum Corintho; fastidiendum, quod mercatore Demarato genitum; erubescendum, quod etiam exule. Cæterum tam prospero conditionis suæ eventu industrius pro ignominioso, pro invisio *gloriosum* reddidit. Dilatavit enim imperii fines, cultum deorum novis sacerdotiis auxit, numerum senatus amplificavit, equestrem ordinem uberiores reliquit: quæque laudum ejus consummatio est, præclaris virtutibus effecit, ne hæc civitas poenitentiam ageret, quod regem a finitimis potius mutuasset, quam de suis legisset." (Lib. III. cap. iv. 2.) "Quod si eum dii immortales victoriis suis perfrui passi essent, sospes *gloriosior* patriæ mœnia non intrasset." (Lib. III. cap. ii. 5.) "Conspiciæ felicitatis Arpinum unicum; sive literarum *gloriosissimum* contemptorem, sive abundantissimum fontem intueri velis." (Lib. II. cap. ii. 3.)

In the fragments of Petronius found at Traw, in Dalmatia, the word is twice used, as it seems, in a good sense. "Oves, quia lana illæ nos *gloriosos* faciunt." (Ed. Bosch. Amstelod. 1677, p. 109.) "Ut totus mihi populus bene imprecetur, ego *gloriosus* volo efferri," p. 156. The philosophic Boethius gives us a passage that is directly in point. "Sed cum plures gentes esse necesse sit, ad quas unius fama hominis nequeat pervenire, fit, ut quem tu æstimas *gloriosum*, proxima parte terrarum videatur inglorius." (De Consol. Philosoph. lib. iii. pros. 6.) And *gloriosa*, *gloriosum*, *gloriosissima*, *gloriosissimus*,

* Not always—for though we find, *Populi nostri honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues, ob eamque causam gloriosi*; (Corn. Nepos, in vita Miltiad. cap. vi.) yet in the same author we have, (in vita Timol. cap. iv.) *Nihil unquam neque insolens neque gloriosum ex ore ejus exiit*. And in Cicero we read, *Quæ est igitur causa istarum angustiarum? Gloriosa ostentatio constituendi summum bonum*. (De Fin. lib. iv. 25.) *Primum genus quod risum vel maxime movet, non est nostrum morosum, superstitiosum, suspiciosum, gloriosum, stultum*. (De Oratore, lib. ii. 62.)

and *gloriosissime*, occur in the *Codex*, lib. i. tit. 1. I cannot but think that these are sufficient authorities for Milton's use of it. The word, as we have seen, was used in a good sense in the time of Tiberius, if not of Plautus; and it did not cease to be so used in the time of Justinian.

It seems not altogether impertinent to add, that Suetonius has, "Non minus *gloriosi* quam civilis animi" (in vita Claudii, c. i.); and Valerius Maximus, "*Gloriosum* militis spiritum" (lib. viii. c. 14.); and that it would be difficult, as I apprehend, to give a solid reason why we may not say, *vir gloriosus*, as well as *gloriosus animus*, or *gloriosus spiritus viri*.

Dr. Johnson has told us, that Salmasius, in his reply to Milton, (which was published by his son in the year of the Restoration) being probably most in pain for his Latinity, endeavours in the beginning to defend his use of the word *persona*: "But if I remember right," says the Doctor, "he misses a better authority than any that he has found, that of Juvenal in his fourth satire:

—Quid agas, cum dira et fœdior omni
Crimine *persona* est?"

But the old scholiast has, "Non *homo* sed *persona*;" and he would not, I think, be much out of the way, who should assert, that the word *persona*, in this place, answers to our word *character*. "Qui de *personis* Horatianis scripserunt, aiunt Mænium scurrilitate notissimum Romæ fuisse." (Vet. Schol. in Hor. lib. i. sat. 3.) But the satire would, I think, be heightened, if we consider the word in Juvenal as expressive of *rank* and dignity:

Nil fuerit mî, inquit, cum uxoribus unquam alienis;
Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus; unde
Fama malum gravius, quam res trahit. An tibi abunde
Personam satis est, non illud quidquid ubique
Officit, evitare?

HOR. 1 Sat. ii. 57.

"*Persona* dignitatis est nomen; sic et Cicero dicit esse qui sentiant philosophiam indignam esse *persona*. Cornelius Celsus plene *splendidam* dicit *personam*; modo matronam dicit *personam*; præsertim vero honoratiorem." (Baxter, ad locum.) Hence undoubtedly the word *parson*; which is now (such is the mutability of language!) almost a term of reproach.

I have never seen Salmasius's Reply, and therefore do not know what authorities, for his use of *persona*, he may have quoted; but, upon looking into Valerius Maximus on

this occasion, I have met with four passages which an inattentive reader might think much to his purpose; which, however, in my judgment, do not come up to the point.

"*Suspecta matris familiæ persona.*" lib. viii. c. I. 12. Here the word signifies *character*.—"Neque haustum sui cum aliquo *personarum* discrimine largum malignumve præbet," &c. lib. iii. cap. 3, *ad fin.* Here it means *rank* or *condition*.—"Ne ego in tua *persona* et accusatoris, et testis, et judicis partes egisse videar." lib. iv. c. I. 10. Here also it seems to signify *rank* or *condition*.—"Ac ne quid in *persona* sua novaretur," *ibid.* And here it may very properly be translated, one of his *rank* and *quality*.

Ainsworth has given two instances in which he thought *persona* was used for *person*; and yet it may be questioned whether either of them fully answers his purpose. "*Prospicias—ecqua pacifica persona desideretur, an in bellatore sint omnia.*" (Cic. ad Attic. viii. 12.) "*Heroicæ personæ Medea et Atreus.*" (Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. 29.) I see no reason why the word may not be interpreted *character* in both places.

At first sight one is struck with the following passage as an unexceptionable proof of this word in Salmasius's sense:

Qui illum Persam, atque omnes Persas, atque omnes *personas*,
Male dii omnes perdant.

Plauti Pers.

And yet it is possible, after all, that the author meant no more than the *dramatis personæ*.

Seneca will, however, furnish us with a passage that will undeniably prove that Milton was mistaken if he meant to insinuate that *persona* was never applied as we apply the word *person*. "*In mea tamen persona non pro te dolet.*" Cong. sol. ad Helviam, c. xvii.

It is clear that Milton has not said that *persona* signifies only a *mask*. His words are, "*Quid enim, quæso, est parricidium in persona regis admittere, quid in persona regis? quæ unquam Latinitas sic locuta est? nisi aliquem nobis forte Pseudophilippum narras, qui personam regis indutus nescio quid parricidii apud Anglos patraverit; quod verbum verius opinione tua ex ore tibi excidisse puto. Tyrannus enim quasi histrionalis quidam rex, larva tantum et persona regis, non verus rex est.*" (Præf.) *In persona regis* does not necessarily signify *in the king's person*. Salmasius might have defended himself by saying, he only meant *in one of royal rank*. And Milton may possibly have intended no more than

to express his doubts whether *parricidium admittere* in p. r. was good Latin for *to commit a parricide on one of royal rank*. “*Ne quid turpe in se admittere*,” is the language of Terence; but, “*Ne quid turpe in alio admittere*,” if such a passage could be found, would, I suppose, be generally understood to signify *conniving* at a crime, not *committing* it, or indeed suffering under it.

Pœnas reponit Nemesis.

Catul.

1786, July.

NEMESIS.

XCIV. On the promiscuous use of the Articles *A* and *AN*.

MR. URBAN,

AS your Miscellany will probably survive as long as the English language itself shall exist, you will not, I presume, receive with indifference any communication which may conduce to its propriety or tend to its improvement.

There is an inconsistency, frequently practised by our best writers, which deforms our language, and greatly embarrasses foreigners who wish to learn it; and this is—the promiscuous use of the particles *a* and *an*, before words which begin with the letter *h*. The confusion arising from this inaccuracy is the greater, because it is not occasioned solely by different authors varying from each other, but by the same author not unfrequently differing from himself in this matter.

I will beg leave to state a list of examples in proof of what I have just advanced: and will request your permission to subjoin to that list some remarks and reflections upon the subject at large.

HAIR.

Estimation of <i>a</i> hair	Shakes.	At <i>an</i> hair-breadth	Bib. Tr. Judges.
Breadth of <i>a</i> hair	Swift.	Breadth of <i>an</i> hair,	Swift.
Judges to <i>a</i> hair	Dryden.	Esau <i>an</i> hairy man	Bib. Tr. Gen.

HAND.

However strict <i>a</i> hand	Locke.	To have <i>an</i> hand in	South.
In <i>a</i> hand benumbed	Young.	Not <i>an</i> hand touch it	Bib. Tr. Exod.
Of <i>a</i> hand-bell	Bacon.	Never was <i>an</i> hand	Bacon.
As <i>a</i> handmaid	Bacon.	About <i>an</i> handful	Bacon.
<i>A</i> hand's-breadth	Johnson.	Of <i>an</i> hand-breadth	Bib. Tr. Exod.
Was <i>a</i> hand-breadth	B. T. Kings.	Was <i>an</i> hand-breadth	Bib. Tr. Kings.
<i>A</i> handful of oats	Addison.	With <i>an</i> handful	Robertson.

<i>A</i> handful of men	Clarendon.	<i>An</i> handful of men	Robertson.
Upon <i>a</i> hand-gallop	Dryden.	<i>An</i> hand was sent	Bib. Tr. Ezek.
As good <i>a</i> hand	Swift.	Form of <i>an</i> hand	Bib. Tr. Ezek.

HERO, &c.

Proceeds <i>a</i> hero	Swift.	Such <i>an</i> hero	Pope.
Way of <i>a</i> hero	Johnson.	Suitable to <i>an</i> hero	Johnson.
<i>A</i> hero in learning	Johnson.	Character of <i>an</i> hero	Johnson.
<i>A</i> heroine	Johnson.	To <i>an</i> hero	Johnson.
Pronounced by <i>a</i> hero	Hawkesw.	Choice of <i>an</i> hero	Young.

HIGH, &c.

To be <i>a</i> high-flier	Swift.	To <i>an</i> highwayman	Swift.
<i>A</i> high red tincture	Boyle.	<i>An</i> high hand	Bacon.
<i>A</i> high-priest	Johnson.	<i>An</i> high-priest	Johnson.
Upon <i>a</i> height	Swift.	To <i>an</i> height	Young.
In <i>a</i> high rank	Robertson.	Such <i>an</i> high price	Robertson.

HISTORY, &c.

Writing <i>a</i> history	Beattie.	<i>An</i> historian	Swift.
In such <i>a</i> history	Beattie.	<i>An</i> historian	Johnson.
<i>A</i> historian	Travis.	<i>An</i> historian	Gibbon.

HOLY.

Know <i>a</i> holy man	Shakes.	Is <i>an</i> holy man	Bib. T. Kings.
<i>A</i> holy-day kind	Dryden.	Of <i>an</i> holy-day	Bib. T. Coloss.

HOUSE.

Place in <i>a</i> house	Johnson.	Furniture of <i>an</i> house	Johnson.
Two of <i>a</i> house	Dryden.	Was not <i>an</i> house	Bib. T. Exod.
If it were <i>a</i> house	Swift.	Build me <i>an</i> house	Bib. T. Sam.
Becoming <i>a</i> housewife	Johnson.	As good <i>an</i> housewife	Addison.
If <i>a</i> house be divided	B. T. Mark.	We have <i>an</i> house	Bib. Tr. Cor.

HUNDRED.

<i>A</i> hundred leagues	Robertson.	<i>An</i> hundred manors	Johnson.
Above <i>a</i> hundred yards	Addison.	Consisting of <i>an</i> hund.	Johnson.
<i>A</i> hundred examples	Pope.	From <i>an</i> hundred	Pope.
<i>A</i> hundred times	Pope.	<i>An</i> hundred things	Pope.
<i>A</i> hundred friends	Pope.	<i>An</i> hundred sons	Pope.
Peruse <i>a</i> hundred	Swift.	Above <i>an</i> hundred	Swift.
In <i>a</i> hundred places	Swift.	That <i>an</i> hund. mortals	Swift.
<i>A</i> hundred times	Swift.	<i>An</i> hundred tricks	Swift.
<i>A</i> hundred noisy curs	Swift.	<i>An</i> hund. tradesmen	Swift.

This list of examples might be extended to an enormous length. Many of them are contradictions of the same author to himself. Those which I will venture to subjoin, shall be wholly such.

Dr. SWIFT.

Two feet and <i>a</i> half	Sixteen feet and <i>an</i> half
Only <i>a</i> heap	Into <i>an</i> heap
To want <i>a</i> heart	<i>An</i> hearty fit
Like <i>a</i> human creature	Resembling <i>an</i> human creature.

JOHNSON.

From <i>a</i> hedge or hedge-born man	Like thorns in <i>an</i> hedge
<i>A</i> hogshead holds 63 gallons	Qualities of <i>an</i> hog
To catch with <i>a</i> hook	To fasten with <i>an</i> hook
Covered with <i>a</i> husk	Bearing <i>an</i> husk.

POPE.

Ride on <i>a</i> horse	Shoed <i>an</i> horse
<i>A</i> horse-laugh	Maketh of <i>an</i> horse.

WATTS.

The notion of <i>a</i> humourist	<i>An</i> humorous conduct.
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YOUNG.

<i>A</i> Homer casts them away	Giving us <i>an</i> Homer.
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Your readers, Mr. Urban, will wish to see the question determined as to the comparative propriety of the two preceding and opposite columns. They cannot both be right: unless it be right that the English nation should use a confused and incongruous jargon, rather than a regular language defined by known and precise rules.

In order to lead to this determination, let it be remarked, that the letter *H* is in the English, as in other languages, “a note of aspiration, sounded only by a strong emission of the breath, without any conformation of the organs of speech.” If this definition be just (and I see no reason to distrust its correctness), it seems that the usage of the particle *a* (and not *an*), immediately before words beginning with the letter *h*, ought universally to prevail in our language. I will beg leave to state two cases, in which it seems absolutely necessary to observe this regulation, viz. (1st) of those who are to *read aloud in public*, and (2dly) of all *public speakers* whomsoever.

For first, as to him who is to read aloud in public, in order that he may produce this *strong emission of the breath*, it seems necessary that he should make a short pause before he pronounces such words as require this *aspiration*. Now the words which require this aspiration are, according to the definition just stated, those which begin with the letter *h*. But if the experiment shall be made, it will, I believe, be found much more difficult to afford this strong emission of the breath in reading loud, and of course much less practicable to give due force to this note of aspiration, in cases where an author has placed the particle *an* immediately before the words in question, than it would be were the other particle *a* made the prefix to them. In the former case, the

reader slides on the succeeding word without effort, and without impression. In the latter, he finds himself, in some degree, compelled to pause in his enunciation; and the very *hiatus*, caused by the utterance of the particle, assists the succeeding aspiration.

If therefore, the quality or characteristic of the letter *h* be such, as to require the person who reads aloud to aspire the words to which it is prefixed, and to "sound them with a strong emission of the breath," it seems requisite that every author should prefix to those words the particle *a* only. The indiscriminate use of these particles by our authors, might perhaps be tolerated, were their works never to be read,* save in silence, and in the closet. But he alone can be said to write for the public with correctness, who may be read aloud to the public with propriety.

But if it be thus requisite for an author to adopt this rule, for the sake of his reader, it seems absolutely necessary for the *public speaker* to confine himself to it for the sake of his *hearer*. The indiscriminate use, by *him*, of the particles in question, immediately before such words as begin with the letter *h*, will render it almost impossible for him to make that momentary pause in speaking, which is requisite for this "note of aspiration." Habituated to slide onwards, in speaking, without aspiration, in the words *an airy*, *an art*, *an edge*, *an arm*, &c. he will be in the utmost danger, if he shall use the same prefix, of making no distinction in his enunciation between those and such other phrases as *a hairy*, *a hart*, *a hedge*, *a harm*, &c. which requires a marked discrimination from the others. In which case his hearers will have no means of ascertaining the scope of that part of his argument, but by retaining in their memory the whole sentence in which those phrases stood, and comparing it with the context of his speech, as he proceeds to unravel it. But this is a drudgery to which few hearers will submit for any length of time. Rather than bear a frequent imposition of this task, they will suffer their thoughts to expatiate some other way, and will lose the speaker, and his subject in equal inattention.

None of the authors, from whom I have selected the foregoing examples, are clear from this error, one alone excepted. It was indeed, the perusal of this treatise,

* Were this supposition possible in fact (which it is not) yet the confusion, the want of uniformity, the inconsistency, and the embarrassment, of foreigners, arising from this promiscuous use, would still remain.

which led me to bestow some thought on the subject. And it seems that there will be no difficulty in effecting a complete reformation of this abuse, (as it appears to be), save in a very few words. *A honest, a habitual, and a honour*, will * sound a little uncouthly for some time. But practice and perseverance (which have surmounted much greater difficulties than these) will at length reconcile these sounds to the most fastidious ear. And the credit of the speaker, the ease of the hearer, and the accommodation of the learner, of our language, as well as the consistency, the uniformity, the beauty, of the language itself, seem to demand the effort to be made without delay, and to be pursued with unceasing resolution.

1787, *March*.

KUSTER.

MR. URBAN,

MY old friend and constant companion Kuster has for once stolen the march upon me. I knew not a syllable of his intentions, or should have made him contract his disquisition upon *a* and *an*, to make room for less arid strictures. The rogue knew very well that *a* is used before substantives beginning with a consonant; as, *a droll, a slyboots, a circumlocutionist*; and that *an* is applied before such substantives as begin with a vowel, as *an idler, an Aristarchus, an oddity*; or with the unasperated *h*, as *an heir, an hour*; and also before adjectives so circumstanced; as *a clever fellow, an ingenious critic; a hearty friend; an honest soul; &c. &c.* I do not blame him for his aim, but for shooting at so many errors, where few would have done, from writers like Shakespeare, Johnson, &c. &c. He well knew that such men dash out their ideas *currente calamo*; and if they ever display a slip of the pen, we can only re-echo Ovid's *materiam superabat opus*: for men, like these,

From vulgar bounds with wild disorder start,
And snatch a grace beyond the reach of art.

The fault, therefore, lay with Pick-letter, the compositor, and no inference is to be drawn against our language, or those who have visibly thought in it, from such trivial inaccuracies as the superintendents of the press should have attended to. *Sua res agitur*; and they are to look to accuracy after a good copy is furnished them for publication. Sir, I

* One expression, 'an hour,' seems to be entitled to a perpetual exception.

declare that, in the rapidity of writing, I should not wonder if you or I, or any other man of genius, was to overlook the orthography of his own name. Shakspear, Shakspur, Shakspeare, will do in common talk; but, for Heaven's sake! let us be so decent as to give our immortal bard his genuine name, when his ideas are too much engaged in better business to tell us that his name is *Shakespeare*.

Another word or two and I have done. How Mr. Gibbon—for so it is—should have written *a universal, a union, &c.* and how Mr. Wraxall and others should have talked about *a uniform, a unicorn, a ugly face, &c.* is past my comprehension on any other grounds, than that they were writers of things, and forgot, in their career, the mechanical affair of letters, whether vowels or consonants.

Joking apart, however, these little things are not to be neglected; and a Johnson, who was to castigate others, should have been peculiarly correct himself. We want not a standard in our language, but some one to erect and display the standard; and we may say of verbal deductions, as of great matters, that *he who despises small things may fall by little and little.*

My compliments to brother Kuster,

From yours,

1787, June.

L'ABBE.

XCV. *Melancholy, Despair, and Grief, as described by the Poets.*

MR. URBAN,

THE passions of the mind, like the appetites of the body, are eager in the pursuit of objects adapted to their gratification. Nor is this natural propensity peculiar to passions of the more cheerful kind, as Love, Joy, Hope; those which are of a darker complexion and more serious cast, are equally prompt in searching out means of self-indulgence. We dwell with fondness on circumstances, which may tend to heighten the force of that impression by which we are immediately influenced. Hence in a state of MELANCHOLY, most welcome are,

Folded arms, and fixed eyes;
A sigh, that piercing mortifies;
A look that's fasten'd to the ground;
A tongue chain'd up without a sound;

Fountain heads, and pathless groves,
Places which pale passion loves ;
Moon-light walks, when all the fowls
Are warmly hous'd, save bats and owls.

(See Beaumont and Fletcher's *Nice Valour*.)

The more distracted and forlorn condition which brings on DESPAIR, is finely drawn by Spenser, in the passage which allegorizes that passion. Whoever is the victim of that woeful and irresistible tyrant, is found,

———— low sitting on the ground
Musing full sadly in his sullen mind ;
His grisly lockes, long growen and unbound,
Disorder'd hung about his shoulders round,
And hid his face, &c.

Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. I. c. 9. 35.

Few, however, are those who suffer extremely from these violent perturbations of mind, in comparison with the many who, in this “Vale of Tears,” are afflicted with MODERATE GRIEF. This passion also has its gratifications, and indulges its feelings by modes of the following kind. It weeps for the lost object of its affection—hence says MOSCHUS,

Εγὼ δ' ἐπὶ πένθει τῷδε
Δακρυχέων τεῶν οἶτον ὀδυρομαι.

And Horace, in that pathetic eulogy on QUINTILIUS VARUS,

Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus,
Tam cari capitis? Præcipe lugubres
Cantus, Melpomene——
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.

Hor. B. I. Od. 24.

It takes a melancholy pleasure in recollecting scenes at which the lost person lamented was present, and employments in which he was engaged with us. Hence MILTON, passionately and poetically,

Together both, ere the high lawns appear'd
Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,
We drove afield, and both together heard
What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn,
Batt'ning our flocks with the fresh dews of night,
Oft till the star that rose, at evening, bright,
Toward Heav'n's descent had slop'd his west'ring wheel.
Lycidas.

The contrast, which soon after follows, is wonderfully striking. How could Dr. Johnson be such an apathist as to slight this first monody in our language!—TICKELL, in his verses on the death of ADDISON, and Lord LYTTTELTON, in his truly elegiac Monody, have not forgotten to introduce the effect of scenes once frequented, and employments once pursued, by the “dear lost companion.”

It gratifies MODERATE GRIEF to shew, speak of, admire, and prize any thing which may have been left by the deceased, whether it be a work of the departed person’s own ingenuity, or a garment, or other relick, which the lamented relation or friend once frequently used. There is no where a more beautiful or pathetic instance of this than in the fact recorded by St. Luke, in the Acts, c. ix. 39. Παρεστησαν αὐτῷ πασαι αἱ χηραι κλαιουσαι, καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμεναι χιτῶνας καὶ ἱματῖα, ὅσα ἐποίησεν μετ’ αὐτῶν ὅσα ἡ Δορκας. A poet or painter, who would wish to interest the attention and gain the heart, must be careful to select, and place in a proper point of view, the LITTLE circumstances of REAL life.

Among all the aggravations of grief, there is no one more powerful than the sight of things worn by the deceased. It added to the sorrow, and heightened the rage of ELECTRA, that she saw ÆGYSSTHUS wearing the very garments of AGAMEMNON:

Ἐπεὶ τὰ ποίας ἡμέρας δοκεῖς μ’ ἀγειν,
Ὅταν θρόνοις Ἀγισθόων ἐνθάκωντ’ ἰδῶ
Τοῖσιν πατρώοις; εἰσιδῶ δ’ ἐσθηματα
Φορεντ’ ἐκείνῳ ταῦτα;

Soph. Elect.

On the latter words the scholiast remarks, οὐχ’ ὅμοια βασιλικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκεῖν’· πάντῳ γὰρ τὸτο περιπαθεῖς, καὶ εἰς ἰπομνησιν ἀγορεύει τὴν μείρακα τῶ πατρὸς.

It is well imagined by Virgil, to make Dido dwell some few moments on the sight of the Trojan robes, which had been received from ÆNEAS:

— ILIACAS VESTES, notumque cubile
Conspexit, paullum lachrymis et mente morata.
Æn. IV. 648.

The circumstance of the “Notum Cubile,” and the affecting speech, “Dulces Exuviae,” &c. are manifestly imitations of Euripides, in his ALCESTIS, and of Sophocles, in his TRACHINIÆ.

The belt, which PALLAS had once worn, was no sooner accidentally observed by ÆNEAS, than the humanity, which

had begun to incline the Trojan hero to compassion, was converted into rage, mixed with sorrow, for the death of that brave youth:

Et jam jamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
Cæperat; INFELIX humero cum apparuit alto
BALTEUS, et NOTIS fulserunt cingula BULLIS
Pallantis Pueri; victum quem vulnere TURNUS
Straverat, atque humeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
Ille, oculis postquam SÆVI monumenta DOLORIS
Exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus, et ira
Terribilis, &c.

Æn. XII. 940.

That these remarks on the manner in which the more gloomy passions gratify themselves, may be turned to some end more useful than barren speculation, let it be considered, that the DEITY has abundantly furnished the human mind with sources of happiness. If MELANCHOLY, DESPAIR, and GRIEF, can find a peculiar pleasure in self-indulgence, and can delight in seeking objects congenial with their immediate feelings, then are men, who apparently to spectators are plunged into the deepest distress, not in reality so miserable as inexperienced judges may imagine. God of his mercy hath provided a remedy which may alleviate the pangs of sorrow; he hath ordained that the very passion, which “harrows the soul,” should have in it some ingredients not altogether unpleasant to the subject which that passion affects. It is thus the Almighty vouchsafes to consult for the GOOD of MAN; amidst clouds and darkness there yet shineth a light; amidst storms and tempests there is still a saving plank; amidst affliction and woe there is even a “sad luxury” in giving way to tears, and in reviewing again and again objects which tend to aggravate our distress of mind.

1787, *April*.

H. I. C.

XCVI. Strictures on the use of the Interjection OH!

MR. URBAN,

I RECOLLECT that many years ago, on reading, in Dr. Johnson’s criticisms upon Pope’s epitaphs, this assertion, “the particle O! used at the beginning of a sentence, always offends,” several instances suggested themselves to

me which prevented my acquiescence in the justice of the remark. I have since seen it, however, adopted by other writers of reputation, and enforced by general observations on the bad effects of exclamatory sentences, which are represented as the poor artificers of frigid and tasteless rhetoricians, inconsistent with true chastity of style, and unauthorized by the best models of antiquity. But, upon examining these positions. I could not discover any other foundation for them, than that bad writers most commonly expose themselves by an injudicious imitation of beauties; and that every attempt to produce extraordinary efforts should be employed sparingly, and only upon suitable occasions.

The interjection O, common to so many languages, seems applicable to exactly the same purposes in all. It is a sort of *intonation*, by which some extraordinary energy or emotion of the mind is expressed. The propriety of its use, therefore, depends entirely upon the correspondence of the subject and accompanying words with the affection thus denoted; and may be compared with the connection of sound and sense in musical compositions. If Dr. Johnson's observation of its ungraceful effect at the beginning of a sentence have any foundation, it is, that the mind not being yet sufficiently prepared, it cannot at once strike into the sentiment of which this interjection is the mark or note. And this is really the case, where the immediately subsequent words are not clearly expressive of the occasion which is to excite the emotion. Thus, in the particular passage which leads him to the remark,

O born to arms! O worth in youth approved!
O soft humanity in age belov'd!

These clauses are not at all indicatory of the sorrowful event to which the exclamation is directed. The first of them, especially, has no obvious connection whatever with pathetic emotion. But where the proper cause of the mental affection immediately appears, the whole readily coalesces into one effect, and the mind, without difficulty, follows the impression first raised.

Dr. Johnson asserts, "that exclamation seldom succeeds in our language." Yet its use is just the same in ours as in any other: we employ it abundantly in common conversation; and it is to us, as to other people, the natural vent of strong emotion. Perhaps, indeed, our feelings may be more cold and sluggish than those of the southern nations; or a stern philosophy may have made us unyielding to attempts to

move us; so that we do not readily give ourselves up to the writer who would excite our sympathy. That this was the case with the critic in question, is sufficiently apparent from some of his observations on the English poets; but men so constituted should reflect, that their incapacity of following the ardent expressions of a feeling mind only renders them unfit judges of such expressions, and is no evidence that they are faulty or improper.

I shall now proceed, by a few examples, selected from an infinite number which may easily be found, first, to show how familiarly, and with what happiness, this mode of speech was used by the best Latin writers; and, then, to establish an appeal to the reader's taste, from Dr. Johnson's judgment of its disagreeable effect in English.

The greatest of the Roman orators, in one of his finest efforts, the peroration of the speech for Milo, thus redoubles his exclamations:

O frustra, inquit, suscepti mei labores! o spes fallaces!
o cogitationes inanes meæ!—O me miserum, o infelicem!
—O terram illam beatam, quæ hunc virum exceperit!

And even in his cooler philosophical works, we have such sentences as these:

O vitæ philosophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix, expul-
trixque vitiorum! O præclarum diem, cum ad illud divinum
animorum concilium cætumque proficiscar!

The philosophical poet, Lucretius, breaks out, near the beginning of one of his books, in the following manner:

O miseras hominum mentes, o pectora cæca!

And Ovid thus nobly introduces a long passage of united poetry and philosophy:

O genus attonitum gelidæ formidine mortis!

Virgil begins his beautiful praises of a country life with

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
Agricolas!

which Thomson imitates (as far as I can see, without any bad effect) by

O knew he but his happiness; of men
The happiest he!

Indeed, were all the preceding passages translated, I cannot discover why the obnoxious interjection might not be retained with advantage, at least in the greater part.

To come to our own authorities, I shall begin with some drawn from the common version of the Scriptures; the style of which will scarcely, I suppose, be charged with affectation. Who would alter any of the following exclamatory strains of devotional ardor?

O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good!—O sing unto the Lord a new song!—O magnify the Lord with me!—O fear the Lord, all ye his saints!—O how I love thy law!—O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!

The language of the drama, from its impassioned subjects, abounds with similar expressions. It will be sufficient, in order to judge of their effect, to read these lines from *Hamlet*:

Oh what a rogue and peasant slave am I!

Oh what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!

Oh my offence is rank, it smells to heaven!

Oh wretched state! oh bosom, black as death!

Oh limed soul!

Milton, whose style and manner were rigorously formed on the ancient models, very often prefixes the interjection to his speeches:

O prince, O chief of many throned powers!

O myriads of immortal spirits! O powers
Matchless, but with th' Almighty!

O progeny of heaven, empyreal thrones!

And he begins one of his books with

O for that warning voice!

Lastly, the author who has given occasion to Dr. Johnson's censure, in the most eloquent piece of poetry perhaps extant, his *Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard*, has multiplied this form of exclamation, in such lines as, I think, Johnson himself could not have condemned or improved,

Oh name, for ever sad! for ever dear!

Oh happy state! where souls each other draw.

O curst, dear horrors of all conscious night!

O death, all eloquent!

Oh may we never love as these have lov'd!

If your readers, Mr. Urban, are convinced by these quotations, that the assertion of Dr. Johnson was rash and unfounded, it may usefully admonish them not to admit too hastily a sentiment, merely because it has the sanction of a great name; and not to condemn particular modes of expression because they are rendered ridiculous by the practice of bad writers.

1787, June.

J. A.,

XCVII. Langelande, Author of *Pierce Plowman's Visions*.

MR. URBAN,

OUR poet Chaucer lately met with a commentator who hath done him ample justice; it is, perhaps, needless to say I allude to Mr. Tyrwhitt; but the *Visions of Pierce Plowman*, the work of Langelande, a bard of the same early day, have hitherto laid in the deepest obscurity, and in deplorable confusion. If Mr. Warton had not taken notice of him in the highly valuable *History of English Poetry*, and in the *Observations on Spenser*, even his name would have remained still unknown to the generality of readers.—Though Langelande will by no means bear a comparison with Chaucer for wit, pleasantry, or discrimination of character, yet the inquirer into the origin of our language will find in him a greater fund of materials to elucidate the progress of the Saxon tongue, which Chaucer is accused of vitiating with discordant Gallicisms. The diction and versification, indeed, of these two poets, are as widely distant as those of Milton and his contemporary Waller. This consideration should teach the critic how little dependance is to be placed on style and manner in fixing the æra of an uncertain composition.

Mean as the structure of the verse in these *Visions* must appear to modern eyes, let it be remembered, that Langelande was the *Ennius* of Milton. What this Anglo-Saxon poet attempted by uncouth alliteration only, the immortal bard perfected by elevated expression and metrical cadence. But our language was much longer ripening than the Roman. Little more than a century passed between Ennius and Virgil, whereas Langelande preceded Milton, and Chaucer flourished before Dryden, full three centuries.

This now-forgotten satire was formerly so much admired, that it went through three editions in one year. So favour-

able a reception at such an early period of printing in our country as 1550, was probably owing to its falling in with the prevailing temper of the times in the reign of young Edward, and in some sort justifying the Reformation, by exposing the abuses of the Romish Church.

This poem, in common with other publications of those days, hath suffered greatly both from licentious and negligent transcribers, and from careless and unskilful printers, To instance no farther than the passage cited to fix the date of the work. One of the editions in 1550 reads

It is not long passed

Ther was a careful com̄o, whē no cart came to town
With bread from Stratford, tho gan beggers wepe
And workemē were agast a litle, this wol be thought longe.
In date of our bryght, in a drye Apriell
A thousand and thre hundred, twyse twentye and ten
My wafers ther wer geisē whā Chichester was Mair.

Imprinted by R. Cowley. Passus decimus tercius.

Stow, in his Survey of London, informs us, that bread was regularly brought to the city for sale from "Stratford the Bow," till about the middle of the sixteenth century.—Many years ago I had corrected *bryght* to *dright*, Saxon for *lord*, and have since found that Mr. Warton adopts that emendation at the suggestion of Mr. Lye. However, *brytta* also means *lord* according to Lye's Dictionary, if the word be not a literal error in the authorities. For when we consider in what low estimation the Saxons held the Britons, it is very difficult to imagine that they would use *brytta*, a Briton, as a term of honour likewise. *Geisen* is probably misprinted for *geifen*, *given*. *Wafers* signify *cakes*, *bread*,—It appears by Stow's list of mayors, that Chichester did not serve that office more than once, and that was during part of the years 1369 and 1370; soon after which time, by the expression "*it is not long passed*," it is plain that this poem was composed. So that "*twyse twentye and ten*" should either be "*thrice twenty and ten*," or, as Stow gives it in the succeeding quotation, "*twice thirty and ten*." "In the 44th of Edward the Third, John Chichester being Maior of London, I read in the *Visions of Pierce Plowman*, a book so called, as followeth: *Ther was a careful commune, when no cart came to towne with basket bread from Stratford: tho gan beggers weepe, and workemen were agasst a little, this will bee thought long in the date of our Dirte, in a dry Averell a thousand and thre hundred, twice thirty and ten*," p. 169.

It is evident from the above, that Stow had a copy of this work written without the distinction of verses, as was often the practice formerly, and that, like Moliere's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, who talked prose and did not know it, the honest antiquarian was not aware that he was transcribing poetry; for, to do him justice, even the meanest attempt at monumental metre stands throughout his compilation in regular lines. The reading of *commune* (*debate*) explains *common* in my edition. "*This will be thought long*" is unintelligible in both extracts. *Dirte* for *dright* or *bryght* could convey no idea. In such labyrinths of error hath this book been in many places involved for ages; and through such entangled passages, and depraved and distorted texts, were our ancestors frequently obliged to search for a meaning.

Is there then no Tyrwhitt left to rescue the father of English blank verse from his present wretched plight, and place him by the side of Chaucer, the father of our rhyme?

1787, Nov.

T. H. W.

XCVIII. Remarks on Dryden's Ode in Memory of Mrs. Killigrew.

AMONG the various extraordinary judgments contained in Dr. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," which may be attributed either to the force of prejudice, or to vitiated and defective feelings respecting poetical beauty, none has struck me more than the superlative praise he bestows on a composition of Dryden's, which was scarcely known by the greatest admirers of that poet till he brought it forward to notice. "His poem on the death of Mrs. Killigrew," says this eminent critic, "is undoubtedly the noblest ode that our language ever has produced." On reading this decisive sentence, I flew with impatience to a poem, of which I had never before heard, as to a newly discovered treasure. I perused it over and over with strong partialities in its favour; but the result was so much disappointment, nay disgust, that I should not satisfy myself without sitting down and entering on a particular exposition of those defects which caused me to feel so differently from its warm encomiast.

It may be supposed, considering Dr. Johnson's turn of mind, that this predilection for this poem was partly owing to its religious cast; yet he has elsewhere explicitly declared his opinion of the inadequateness of poetry to give due dignity to subjects, in their own nature too high for artificial elevation, and which cannot be illustrated by any thing so great

as themselves. The very beginning of this ode might have served him as a proof of this truth :

Thou youngest virgin-daughter of the skies,
Made in the last promotion of the blest !

Who does not feel a debasement, approaching to the ludicrous, in this allusion to a gazette list of promotions, by which the reception of a soul into the celestial mansions is imaged ? He goes on,

Whose palms, new-pluck'd from Paradise,
In spreading branches more sublimely rise,
Rich with immortal green, above the rest.

It is, surely, a false thought, that in a state of eternal and increasing felicity, the honours of a newly-admitted guest should be more conspicuous than those of all the former inmates.

The remainder of this first stanza, with which Dr. Johnson is particularly transported, has that mixture of grandeur and meanness in conception, which appears in so many of the efforts of this poet. After having supposed, in some very lofty and melodious lines, that her present residence is either in some planet, fixed star, or other more exalted region of Heaven, he bids her for a time cease her celestial song—and why ? to hear him sing. A most lame and impotent conclusion !

The next stanza touches upon the metaphysical question, whether souls are derived from parents to children, *ex traduce*, or whether, from a pre-existent state, they have successively passed through different bodies ? If the latter was the case, he says, hers

—did through all the mighty poets roll,
Who Greek or Latin laurels wore :

a compliment much too hyperbolical for the reader to acquiesce in, even if he were not to reflect that several of these poets were contemporaries.

In the third stanza he supposes that all heaven kept holiday on his heroine's birth ; an idea which gives occasion to a most extravagant, and almost impious, piece of bombast ;

And if no clust'ring swarm of bees
On thy sweet mouth distill'd their golden dew,
'Twas that such vulgar miracles
Heaven had no leisure to renew ;

For all thy blest fraternity of love
Solemniz'd there thy birth, and kept thy holy-day above.

Certainly Dr. Johnson could not admire such passages as these at the time he criticised Donne and Cowley!

A very just and feeling censure of himself, and the other poets of that vicious age, for perverting their sacred art to the most licentious purposes, next succeeds, to which nothing can be objected, but the offensiveness of the images expressed in a line or two.

The following stanza, describing the poetical and moral character of the lady, is not only unexceptionable, but contains lines of exquisite beauty, though rather of the Ovidian than Pindaric strain:

E'en love (for love sometimes her Muse exprest)
Was but a lambent flame which play'd about her breast,
Light as the vapours of a morning dream;
So cold herself, whilst she such warmth exprest,
'Twas Cupid bathing in Diana's stream.

The sixth stanza relates to the skill in painting possessed by this extraordinary fair-one. The poet begins by considering what he calls *painture* as an additional province exposed to her inroads, where she establishes a *chamber of dependencies*; and he runs this fancy quite out of breath, in Cowley's manner. He proceeds to give views, rather pretty than masterly, of her various productions in landscape-painting; summing up the whole in a couplet which looks like burlesque, and certainly will not convey a high idea of Dryden's taste in this art, notwithstanding he translated Fresnoy:

So strange a concourse ne'er was seen before,
But when the peopled ark the whole creation bore.

We are next presented, in some spirited lines, with pictures of the king and queen, as painted by Mrs Killigrew. A simile is then introduced, which, whether perfectly just or not, is at least very poetically expressed:

Thus nothing to her genius was denied,
But, like a ball of fire, the further thrown,
Still with a greater blaze she shone,
And her bright soul broke out on ev'ry side.

At the close, he resumes the idea of a conqueror in a most extravagant hyperbole:

What next she had design'd, heaven only knows :
 To such immod'rate growth her conquest rose,
 That fate alone its progress could oppose.

In the succeeding stanza, he seems to have forgot that what he had before been celebrating were charms of the mind only, for it is the loss of so much beauty that he now deploras, with some ingenious turns relative to her being robbed of her beauties before she lost her life.

The sentiment which follows, respecting her "warlike brother on the seas," is natural and pathetic; but its effect is injured by the artificial idea with which it concludes, of his recognizing his sister in a new-kindled star, among the Pleiades.

The finishing stanza presents a picture of the last judgment; a scene, Dr. Johnson says, "so awful in itself, that it can owe little to poetry." That it may, however, easily be debased by poetry, Dryden has taken care to prove. These are some lines on the subject in this paragon of odes :

When in the valley of Jehosophat,
 The judging God shall close the book of fate;
 And there the last *assizes* keep
 For those who wake, and those who sleep :
 When rattling bones together fly
 From the four corners of the sky;
 When sinews o'er the skeletons are spread, &c.

At the general resurrection, he says, the poets shall rise first,

For they are cover'd with the highest ground.

Was it from this Ode that Johnson thought himself warranted to speak of Dryden, as "shewing the rectitude of his mind by the rejection of unnatural thoughts?"

That the piece possesses great variety of imagery, a splendor of diction and brilliance of fancy in various parts, and elevation in some others, may be safely acknowledged; at the same time, it seems to want throughout that warmth of pathos, and sublimity of conception, which are requisite to the perfection of lyric compositions; and if, to this consideration, we add the deductions for so many false and extravagant thoughts, inadequate and trivial images, we may surely be authorized to assert, that nothing but the grossest prejudice could have caused the critic's unqualified preference of this poem to many others of the same class in our language.

It may be observed as a remarkable instance either of caprice, or of singularity in judgment, that, while Dr. Johnson is so extremely partial to Dryden's poetical merit in pieces which readers in general pass over with neglect, he has hardly deigned to bestow a single sentence of approbation on his Fables, which by other critics are supposed to contain the richest vein of poetry to be found in all his works, the *Feast of Alexander* alone excepted.

1787, Nov.

J. A.

XCIX. Union of Imagination and Judgment indispensably required in Poetry.

MR. URBAN,

IT is asserted by ARISTOTLE, that "Poetry is the production either of the Man of Genius or the Enthusiast," Εὐφροσύνη Ποιητική ἐστὶν ἢ Μανικὴ, cap. XVII. Winst. Ed. Arist. Poet. His imitator, HORACE, also allows the distinguished title of Poet, in the strictest sense, to him only "ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior," Sat. 1. 4. 43 : and yet the same author, in another passage, affirms, without any qualification of his assertion, that "scribendi recte SAPERE est et principium et fons." A. P. 309. Let us see how these two passages of the Roman critic may be reconciled, and shew with what propriety good sense or Judgment may be called the source of excellent composition.

The offices of Imagination and Judgment are not only distinct, but contrary to each other. It is the business of Imagination either to collect ideas already adopted, or to create new images ; but the work of Judgment is to separate what may have been collected, and to reject many conceptions of a productive genius. Yet, with this diversity in their operations, they are both necessary to the True Poet ; so necessary, that without Imagination the productions of sober Judgment would be tame and insipid ; without Judgment, the works of Imagination would be absurd and inconsistent : where they both unite, is excellence ; where either is separated from the other, must be defect.

If we examine the writings of the best poets, whether ancient or modern, we shall find that, in those unfavourable moments when Judgment neglected to guide Imagination, they fell into gross errors. Particular instances, in proof of this assertion, may be adduced from the allegorical person-

ages and metaphorical figures of the poets. Though allegories and metaphors are justly styled the lights of composition, yet, without extreme circumspection in the use of them, writers are wont to confound their imaginary conceptions with real circumstances, and to introduce ideas not congruous to each other. Even Virgil is not without fault on this account, as the following lines will shew :

————Jamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
 Atlantis duri, cœlum qui vertice fulcit;
 Atlantis, cinctum assidue cui nubibus atris
 Piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri;
 Nix humeros infusa tegit; tum FLUMINA MENTO
 Præcipitant senis———— *Virg. Æn. iv. 246.*

From the whole of this passage we are to conceive ATLAS a person; but if so, how can rivers flow from his chin? What should we think of his taste, who should form a mountain statue in imitation of the Farnese Atlas, and contrive to make real water run out of its chin? Thus, by a failure of Judgment in one circumstance, a description, in other respects noble, loses much of its beauty.

In the representation which HORACE gives of the river TIBER, B. 1. Od. ii. we see the same confusion of imaginary personage and literal circumstance :

Ilia dum se nimium querenti
 JACTAT ultorem, VAGUS et sinistra
 LABITUR ripa, Jove non probante,
 Uxorius Amnis.

Here, in the same passage, TIBER is introduced as an avenging deity, and as an overflowing river. If the Tiber be a deity, then how could he overflow? but if a river, how could he console Ilia by threatening vengeance on the murderers of Julius Cæsar? It will be no excuse to plead that Homer has taken the same unwarrantable liberty in the twenty-first book of the Iliad. SCAMANDER there expostulates with ACHILLES, appearing *αἰετὶ εἰσαπνενος*; and yet presently we find him supplanting the hero, *ἵπαιθα ῥέων*, “by flowing on under his feet.” The speaking god and flowing river are here confounded together; and it must be acknowledged that in this allegorical fiction “Dormitat Homerus.”

By a single word has HORACE debased an allegory, otherwise poetical and bold. He promises himself immortality, and, under the figure of a swan, says, in a strain very animated,

Jam Dædaleo ocior Icaro
Visam gementis littora Bospori,
Syrtesque Gætulas, CANORUS
ALES, Hyperboreosque campos :
Me Colchus, et qui dissimulat metum
Marsæ cohortis Dacus, et ultimi
Noscent Geloni ; me peritus
DISCET Iber, Rhodanique potor.

Not to enlarge on the frigidity of DISCET, we must observe at once how incongruous it is with what precedes. If the poet is transformed into a CANORUS ALES, how can he apply the word DISCET, or the epithet PERITUS, to the Iberian ? The image of a bird being once adopted, should have been pursued throughout ; whereas, after beginning with the flight of a bird, the poet ends with the reading of his works.

When such writers as HOMER, VIRGIL, and HORACE, have not always been sufficiently guarded in delineating allegorical figures, we are not surprised to find OVID vicious in the same particular. “ Ovidius lascivire in Metamorphosi solet ” — “ nimium amator ingenii sui, laudandus tamen in partibus — præstare potuerit, si ingenio suo temperare, quam indulgere, maluisset. ” Quintil. — The writings of OVID shew evident marks of luxuriant imagination, but no signs of subact judgment. These alone abundantly prove the propriety of the Horatian maxims we are endeavouring to reconcile. A true poet must possess not only genius but sound sense also. We need but look into Ovid’s description of TELLUS, Metam. Book II. Fab. I. to be convinced how little capable he was of avoiding incongruities. The allegorical figure TELLUS is introduced as complaining to Jupiter of the conflagration occasioned by Phaëton :

———— Tostos en aspice crines,
Inque oculis tantum, tantum super ora favillæ.

Here is a person with hair burnt, and face covered with burning embers, who thus proceeds,

Hosne mihi fructus, hunc fertilitatis honorem
Officii que refers ?

Thus far all is consistent ; but now comes the literal circumstance :

———— quòd adunci vulnera aratri
Rastrorumque fero ———

Here is the confusion of a complaining goddess and the

earthy sod blended together: a goddess could not bear the “*vulnera aratri*,” the earthy sod could not have “*tostos crines*” and “*tantum super ora favillæ*,” or make complaint to Jupiter.

It is well observed by Lord HALIFAX on DRYDEN’s “*Hind and Panther*,” that in carrying on this allegory, “it should always be a church, or always a cloven-footed beast; for we cannot bear his shifting the scene every line.” It was an unpardonable absurdity to speak of the church as feeding on lawns, or of a panther as reading the Bible. The images, with their appropriated attributes, should ever be kept distinct; and in a composition of considerable length it is extraordinary that DRYDEN should not perceive the incongruity of ideas which had been brought together. It is easy to be conceived, that where a poet by the force of imagination is hurried away to express a sublime thought, he may not immediately discover that he has violated simplicity, which is more severe than to bear conceit or puerility; for this reason,

————— Omne quotannis

Terque quaterque opus evolvendum, verbaque versis

Æternum immutanda coloribus; omne frequenti

Sæpe revisendum studio per singula carmen.

Vidæ A. P. III. 494.

The lovers of GRAY (and such must all be who can feel the power of vigorous and animated poetry) have regretted his admission of the real and figurative thought, which this stanza contains:

Nor second He, that rode sublime

Upon the seraph-wings of Ecstasy,

The secrets of th’ Abyss to spy.

He pass’d the flaming bounds of Place and Time:

The living throne, the sapphire-blaze,

Where angels tremble while they gaze,

He saw: BUT, BLASTED WITH EXCESS OF LIGHT,

CLOSED HIS EYES IN ENDLESS NIGHT.

Gray’s Prog. of Poesy.

The former part of this stanza is highly poetical, being strongly imagined, and forcibly expressed. But the imputing of Milton’s real blindness to his ecstatic view of celestial objects is a vicious mixture of fiction and truth, and too much like an Ovidian conceit. The passage cited from Homer, by Gray himself, is no vindication of this unnatural sentiment: the MUSE is said by Homer to have deprived

DEMODOCUS of sight, and to have given him the art of minstrelsy in recompence :

Τον περι Μῆσ' ἐφίλησε, διδὲ δ' ἀγαθὸν τε, κακὸν τε,
Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἀμερσε, διδὲ δ' ἠδαιαν αἰοιδὴν.

Hom. Od. ©. 63.

In this there is no antithesis, because no opposition between seeing and singing.

As in the allegory, so in the metaphor should be observed the Horatian precepts, “ Denique sit quidvis simplex, duntaxat et unum,” and “ Servetur ad imum qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.” The idea, which has been adopted in order to illustrate a subject, should be uniformly pursued, and the terms applied to it should be suitable. Yet even MILTON is not always on his guard in appropriating his language to the first conceived image ; for instance, in these lines :

————— As one whose DROUTH
Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current stream.

Par. Lost, VII. 66.

The application of EYES to DROUTH is improper.* SOPHOCLES indeed has γῆρυς λαμπρῆι, and ἐλαμψε φανείσα φάρμα, in his *Ced. Tyr.* 196—481. ÆSCHYLUS also has κλυτὸν δεδορκα, v. 103. *Sept. adv. Theb.* ; in both which passages the sense of seeing is applied for that of hearing. But as both these senses are external, the exchange of one for the other is not so violent ; DROUTH is an internal sensation, and on no account can properly be said to EYE the passing stream.

POPE, though the poet of REASON more than of IMAGINATION, with all his cold correctness, falls into confusion of metaphors. Thus in the following line,

In Folly's cup still laughs the bubble, Joy.

Essay on Man, II. 288.

“ Folly's cup,” taken by itself, is poetical ; “ laughs the bubble,” in allusion to the common expression of sparkling wine, is also poetical. But what means “ the bubble Joy laughs in Folly's cup ?” Joy is there made a person or passion, and a bubble at the same time.

Another instance may be adduced from the “ *Essay on Criticism.*” The Poet speaks to Walsh :

[* Does not the verb *eyes* refer to *one* instead of *drouth*? E.]

The Muse, whose early voice you taught to sing,
 Prescribed her heights, and prun'd her tender wing.
 Ver. 735.

The PRUNING of a wing is a term inapplicable, and introduces an idea foreign to the purpose.

Poets have indeed a world, sentiments, and language, peculiar to themselves. They must give body and attributes to beings of their own creation, personifying, natural, moral, intellectual objects. Thus far it is true, that “*Pictoribus atque poetis Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.*” But good sense requires that this power of imagination, either in poetry or painting, should not combine absurdities or connect incoherences. Genius and Judgment should never be separated; their union will produce simplicity and propriety amidst the most sublime conceptions of fancy: their separation may occasion, if not the extravagances of an ARIOSTO, or such violations of the costume as are notorious in the paintings of RUBENS and TINTORET; yet such errors as will not bear the examination of sound criticism.

1787, Nov.

R. O. P.

C. BOURN, whence probably derived.

MR. URBAN,

I AM inclined to think that *Bourn* is generally used, not for a rivulet, as your correspondent supposes; but for the ground bordering on a stream. In the North of England, and in Scotland, it is common to say.—“Walk, or gang, down the bourn or burn.” As one instance out of many, take this expression from a Scotch song:

“Gang down the *burn*, Davy love,
 And I will follow thee.”

All towns and villages, the names of which end in *bourn*, are situated near water. I could instance many, by rivers of different names. I therefore believe *bourn* to be a contraction of *by-eau-run*, i. e. *by the water-course*.—The same may be said of places ending in *ern*, as Tintern, Malvern, Mintern, &c. which may also be derived from *eau-run*.—*Ewage*, in our old writers, is the toll of a water passage; the word is derived from the French, *eau*: and *ewer* is a water-vessel. For both these words see Chamber’s Dictionary. Numberless examples may be cited, in which, by contraction, rapid pronunciation, and consequent mis-

spelling, words have lost their original meaning, if not all meaning. I shall specify a few: "*Sammodithu*, a form of salutation, signifying 'tell me how you do,' rapidly pronounced. *Say me how doest thou*.*" "To *berry*, to thresh, i. e. to beat out the berry or grain of the corn; hence *berry-ing-stead*, the threshing-floor;†" now contracted to *barn*. *Barton*, I derive from *birthing*, the place near a house where the young are brought forth of cows, hogs, fowls, &c.—The meaning of *butler* is certainly *bottler*, the person whose office it is to *bottle* and take care of the liquors.—In a letter of Lord Burleigh, which is introduced in a note on his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, the word *achates* repeatedly occurs. I imagine this word originates from the French *acheter*. In those days, when all the great and the wealthy raised all common things on their own estates, of course what was *bought* was considered as *costly*, and as a delicacy. So that in time *achats* (or *achates* by corruption) might be generally used in that sense as an English word. From hence also may be derived *cates* (dainties) and *cater* (to provide for the table.)

Yours, &c.

1788, Nov.

E. P.

CI. On Imitation and Originality.

MR. URBAN,

IT is not surprising to find that writers among the ancients transcribed each other's works, sometimes without the least acknowledgment, and with little alteration: for this practice was inviting, from the small hazard of detection, and in some degree pardonable before typography was known, when to multiply copies of a book was so laborious and costly that they were of necessity circulated among a very few. We are, therefore, induced to forgive Terence, Solinus, and Apuleius, their depredations on Menander, Pliny, and Lucian. But since this difficulty is removed by the press; and the noble art of printing, the most beneficial invention that the mind of man ever produced, hath diffused literature so universally, it would be no easy task to apologise for the innumerable plagiarisms which are daily obtruded on the public.

* Ray's Collection of English Words.

† Ibid.

That writers on science, who are constrained, from the nature of their subject, to confine themselves strictly to the narrow track of truth, should sometimes tread in the footsteps of earlier authors, is perhaps excusable; but that the novelists and poets, who are allowed to range at large over the boundless regions of fancy, and who in many cases, do not think themselves restrained even within the limits of probability, should so often servilely follow their predecessors in a beaten path, betrays an imbecility of imagination truly wonderful. A cavern inhabited by a troop of robbers, to mention no other instance, hath been looked on as such a favourable scene to display distress, that it is introduced into their fictitious narrations by Lucian, who is said to have taken it elsewhere, by Apuleius, by Heliodorus, by Ariosto, by Spenser, and Le Sage. Apuleius hath not only stolen the cave of banditti from Lucian, but openly robbed him of his ASS, and laden it with many additional extravagances: among which, the tale of Cupid and Psyche particularly attracts the attention of the reader by the wildness of its imagery, which bears striking marks of an Oriental origin.

The delicate Cervantes, though well acquainted with the ancients, found their manners in general too coarse to weave into the exquisite texture of his matchless romance, which still delights, even in translation, notwithstanding the characters and customs vary almost as widely as those in Homer from our own. Neither do I recollect that he selected any classical adventure, if we except *the encounter with the wine-bags*, which seems to have been suggested by Apuleius.—“*Cadavera illa jugulatorum hominum erant tres (caprini) utres inflati, variisque secti foraminibus, et, ut vespertinum prælium meum recordabar, his locis hiantes, quibus latrones illos vulneraveram.*” *Metamorphoseon, sive de Asino aureo*, l. iii.

These *borrachas* had been transformed into the appearance of men by an enchantress; and the stranger, who destroyed them by mistake as thieves, is an ignorant and unwilling actor in an annual ceremony dedicated to a very extraordinary deity of antiquity, the god Laughter (*Deo Risui*.)

A critic of great eminence hath the following remark on Petronius: “I shall observe, by the way, that the copy of this author, found some years ago, bears many signatures of its spuriousness, and particularly of its being forged by a Frenchman. For we have this expression, *ad CASTELLA sese receperunt* ;” that is, “to their *chateaux*, instead of *ad VILLAS*.” *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, vol. I. p. 176.

With due deference, I do not apprehend that this argument,

founded on the word *castella*, is by any means conclusive. Since not to insist on the *Norica Castella* of Virgil (Georg. iii. ver. 474,) which were probably no more than sheepcotes, the word frequently occurs in Apuleius, particularly in the succeeding passage: “*Sed habitus alieni fallacia tectus, villas seu castella solus aggrediens, viaticulum mihi corrasi.*” lib. vii.

The critic’s reproof of Pope, for his compliment to Petronius, is certainly just. The scenes of the private life of the Romans, which that writer exhibits, would be highly pleasing, were we not obliged to wade through much filth, to obtain a view of them.

1789, April.

T. H. W.

CII. TURL at Oxford, whence so named.

MR. URBAN,

EBENEZER BARCLAY, in your Magazine of 1784, asks why a certain *narrow* street in Oxford is called the TURL?

A correspondent conceives this word to be of CELTIC or SAXON origin: and, *if* CELTIC—not else—for, if Saxon, he does not presume to interpret it)—and, *if* the street moreover be on a *declivity*—but, on no other supposition—gives him to understand that it takes its name from *that* circumstance; TURL, in the *Celtic* signifying a *descent*. He adds indeed that, *if* again this same street be in the *purlieus* of OXFORD (for he never saw it, having never been there,) it *may* signify, but does not say *why*, the place where the country-people used to alight, as a *ford* or *entrance*, into the town.

Again;—P. Q. from *Peshall’s History of OXFORD*, informs us that the TURL Gate was so called from *Peter Thurold*, who built and lived near it: and that this gate gave its name to the street.

The truth, MR. URBAN, is this: TURL is not of *Celtic*, but of *Saxon* origin. Thirl, in the *Saxon*, i. e. our old English language, signifies an *orifice* or *aperture*. Hence they had the compounds, Eag-Thirl, *Eye-Thirl*, the *aperture* of the *Eye*; which was also used for a *Window* as an *aperture* to look through—Næs-Thirl, *Nose-Thirl*, whence our *Nos-tril*—Nædle-Thirl, the *aperture*, or as we call it, the *eye* of the *Needle*. Hence also it was used to signify any *narrow-opening* or *passage*. And hence also it may therefore reasonably

be presumed that the *angiport*, or *narrow* passage in question, was called the Thirl, and, by an easy change in the pronunciation, the TURL.

The *verb* was Thirlian, *perforare*, *terebrare*, *penetrare*—to *bore*, *pierce*, or *penetrate*. And hence our verb, to *thrill*, of the same import. Thus, *thrilling* sounds, *thrilling* sorrows, i. e. sound or sorrows which *penetrate* or *pierce*. In *mechanical* operations we find it still in use in the word *drill*, with the simple, and not uncommon, change of the *th* into *d*. By the way, this change of the *th* into *d* is particularly observable in the Prince of Wales's motto, *Id dien*, which was originally written *Id Thien*, *I serve*—*I*, though a Prince, am a *Thane*, or a *Servant*, as being subject to the King.

1789, Nov.

ARCHÆUS Surr.

CIII. Emendation in Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

MR. URBAN,

I DO not at present recollect, that the subject of the following remarks has been *anticipated* by any preceding writer. If you are of the same opinion, you may give them a place in your Magazine.

Yours, &c.

J. R—RT—N.

Milton, near the conclusion of his *Paradise Lost*, has the following lines:

They looking back, all th' eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming brand, the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms.
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon.
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

“If I might presume,” says Mr. Addison, “to offer at the smallest alteration in this divine work, I should think the poem would end better with the passage here quoted, than with the two verses which follow:”

They, hand in hand, with wand'ring steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

“These two verses,” continues this excellent critic, “though they have their beauty, fall very much below the foregoing passage, and renew, in the mind of the reader that anguish which was pretty well laid by this consideration.”

The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

Mr. Addison's observation is certainly just. The sentence of expulsion was pronounced with some comfortable intimations.

Dismiss them not disconsolate,
said the Almighty, when he gave his orders to Michael;

—— Send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace.

Dr. Bentley, in order to remove the foregoing objection, corrects the two concluding lines in this manner:

*Then, hand in hand, with social steps their way
Thro' Eden took, with heav'nly comfort chear'd.*

No reader of taste, I presume, would wish to adopt this frigid alteration; and none, I think, would desire to expunge the two beautiful lines with which Milton concludes his poem. They give us a lively and natural representation of the melancholy state of our first parents, and the reluctance with which they left the delightful scenes of Paradise; and as they must necessarily pass through Eden, that is, the province in which Paradise was situated, before they proceeded into what they called the “wild” and “inhospitable world,” I would, by all means, preserve that part of the description, altering only one word, for the sake of a better connexion, and invert the order of the four concluding verses in this manner:

Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon;
Then hand in hand, with wand'ring steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

Or, by placing a period at the end of the first line, the personal pronoun *they* may be retained; but the former reading, I think, is preferable.

By this alteration, the words of the Poet remain almost entirely unviolated: the beautiful picture of the loving, wandering, lingering, dejected pair, is preserved; they are represented as gradually proceeding from the garden, through the adjoining region, into the world at large; and are finally left, as they ought to be left, under the guidance and protection of Providence.

1791, *Jan.*

J. R.

 CIV. On the Particle *UN*.

MR. URBAN,

THE English language has of late years been so much studied, as to have received great improvement, and also to be more perfectly understood. Most of our writers consequently, that compose in it, are found to acquit themselves with far more precision, perspicuity, and grammatical accuracy, than formerly they were wont to do. All this must be admitted; but still the use of the prepositive particle *un*, which, I presume, never occurs but in compound words, seems to require some further consideration and elucidation; and I beg leave to submit the following observations concerning this monosyllable to the judgment of the public, through the channel of your Magazine. It is a business of greater importance in my eye, than to many, perhaps, at first sight may appear, as it most materially affects a very large portion of our words, substantives, adjectives, and adverbs, as may be seen by turning to Dr. Johnson's Dictionary.

The particle *un*, in compound words, implies a thing's being put into a different state or condition from what it was in before, as to *undo*, *untie*, *unlock*,* &c.; or displaced from its former situation, as *unthroned*†, *unhorsed*,, *unparadised*‡, &c. But now, Sir, in a very large catalogue of our words, this natural and original idea of *un* is in a manner, abandoned and lost, by its being confounded with *in*, and made convertible with it, so as merely to signify *not*. Thus, for instance, we have *unpatient* for *impatient*, Psalm xxxix. 3.; and many will say and write *unfunded*, for *not*

 * Dr. Johnson, v. "un."

† Milton.

‡ Knox, *Winter Evenings*, vol. II.

funded, and *ungrateful* for ingrateful, &c. whereas *impatient*, and *ingrateful*, would not only better preserve the etymology, but afford us a clearer notion of the thing or person meant to be expressed*. What I propose therefore is, that *un* should never be used in such compounds, but always *in*, either literally retained, or softened, *euphoniæ gratia*, into *im* or *il*, as *impertinent*, *illiberal*, &c. and that all our future English Dictionaries should correct our orthography in this respect, the better to preserve analogy, and to give to readers a truer and more adequate sense of the respective words.

1791, April.

L. E.

CV. Pope's Imitation of a Passage in Silius Italicus.

MR. URBAN,

THE following celebrated passage in Pope's Temple of Fame, exhibits a familiar, and, at the same time, a very pleasing and poetical image.

“As, on the smooth expanse of crystal lakes,
The sinking stone at first a circle makes;
The trembling surface, by the motion stir'd,
Spreads in a second circle, then a third;
Wide, and more wide, the floating rings advance,
Fill all the wat'ry plain, and to the margin dance:
Thus ev'ry voice and sound, when first they break,
On neighb'ring air a soft impression make;
Another ambient circle then they move;
That, in its turn, impels the next above;
Thro' undulating air the sounds are sent,
And spreads o'er all the fluid element.”

Ver. 436.

In his Essay on Man, the author introduces the same image, with equal propriety:

“Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;

* Mr. Knox, vol. III. p. 225, writes, *an unoffending individual*; whereas the common word *inoffending*, or *inoffensive*, rather, would be equally as proper.

The centre mov'd, a circle strait succeeds,
 Another still, and still another spreads;
 Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace;
 His country next, and next all human race;
 Wide, and more wide, th' o'erflowings of the mind
 Take ev'ry creature in, of ev'ry kind;
 Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,
 And Heav'n beholds its image in his breast."

Ep. IV. 363.

In these two passages the image is beautifully enlarged and extended; is adorned with many striking circumstances, and is not abruptly, but gradually withdrawn from the reader's imagination. In this mode of conducting a simile, there is no poet, I think, superior, or even equal to Pope.

We have a ludicrous view of the same object in the Dunciad,

"As what a Dutchman plumps into the lakes,
 One circle first, and then a second makes;
 What DULNESS dropt among her sons, imprest
 Like motion from one circle to the rest.
 So from the midmost the nutation spreads
 Round, and more round, o'er all the sea of heads."

B. II. 405.

It has been supposed, that this similitude is taken from the following passage in Shakespeare's Henry the Sixth:

"Glory is like a circle in the water,
 Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
 Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to nought."

Part I. of Henry VI. Act I. Sc. II.

The circular undulations, described by Shakespeare and Pope, might easily occur to any poet, accustomed to derive his similitudes from natural objects; yet it is, I think, very evident, that Pope has imitated the following passage in Silius Italicus:

"Signa reportandi crescebat in agmine fervor.
 Sic ubi perrumpit stagnantem calculus undam,
 Exiguos format per prima volumina gyros;

Mox tremulum vibrans motu gliscente liquorem,
Multiplicat crebros sinuati gurgitis orbes;
Donec postremo, laxatis circulus oris,
Contingat geminas patulo curvamine ripas."

Lib. XIII. 23.

The classical reader will observe, that Pope has followed the Latin poet more closely in the passage quoted from the Temple of Fame, than in the two other citations. This was natural. The Temple of Fame was written in 1711, when the author was only 23 years of age; and had been accustomed "not so much to strike out new thoughts of his own, as to improve those of other men" by an easy and elegant versification.

The Dunciad was written in 1726; the Essay on Man, in 1729. It is said, that Pope first became acquainted with the works of Virgil and Ovid, by the translations of Ogilby and Sandys. If this be true, we may naturally imagine, that he would have the curiosity to read the Translation of Silius Italicus, by Thomas Ross, Esq.* printed in 1662. I shall present the reader with this gentleman's humble version:

—————"Desire in ev'ry breast
To bear their ensigns back again, increast:
As when a stone the water breaks, it makes
At first, small rings; but as its motion shakes
The trembling liquor, while it still descends,
The numerous orbs increase, till it extends
The curling circle, every way, so wide,
That it may touch the banks on either side."

While I have Silius Italicus before me, I cannot forbear citing another beautiful passage, in which the author describes the martial spirit of young Hannibal, when he formed the idea of penetrating into Italy, and avenging the cause of his country, within the walls of Rome. His father who carried him, when he was but nine years old, into Spain, made him solemnly swear, at the foot of an altar, that he would never be reconciled to the Romans. In the mean time, says the poet,

* Ross styles himself "Keeper of his Majesty's Libraries, and Groom of his most honourable Privy-chamber."

“Dat mentem Juno, ac laudum spe corda fatigat.
 Jamque aut nocturno penetrat Capitolia visu;
 Aut rapidis fertur per summas passibus Alpes.
 Sæpe etiam famuli, turbato ad limina somno,
 Expavere trucem per vasta silentia vocem,
 Ac largo sudore virum invenere futuras
 Miscentem pugnæ, et inania bella gerentem.”

Lib. I. 63.

These two quotations may serve to shew, that Silius Italicus is not so despicable a poet as the elder Scaliger and others have represented him; and that there are passages in his poem *DE BELLO PUNICO*, which would not disgrace the *Æneid*.

Yours, &c.

1792, Jan.

J. R—RTS—N.

CVI. Pen and Pin defined.

MR. URBAN,

PEN and *Pin* seem to be the same word; a *pen* is an inclosure of any kind, a *shippen*, a cow-house in Lancashire, quasi *sheep-pen*; a *hen-pen*, to keep and fatten fowls in here. As to *pin*, it is used in Derbyshire of impounding such cattle as are found trespassing; and the pound is called the *pinfold*, and the petty officer that is appointed to the service, the *pinder*, i. e. *pinner*, *d* being inserted *euphoniæ gratia*; and so a pin, *acicula*, is named from its fastening whatever it is used for. A *pen* in Jamaica is a farm or plantation, but that I esteem to be of a different original; the Spaniards once occupied that island; so that I take it to be the Spanish word *Pennas*, *Rupes*, *Collis*, (Stevens. Dict. or Du Fresne in v.); as these plantations are chiefly on the hills, and distant from the bays and coasts frequented by the merchants, and inhabited by the settlers, or proprietors.

Yours, &c.

1792, June.

L. E.

CVII. Etymology of PONTIFEX.

MR. URBAN,

IT seems to be far more easy to discover what was not, than to determine what was, the etymology of *pontifex**. Against the opinion of its originating from the Pontifices of Rome having built the bridge Sulpitius, pursuant to the directions of an oracle, possibly it may be deemed an objection, not destitute of weight, that in the derivatives from this word there is not any allusion to the constructing of a bridge. I write this upon the credit of Ainsworth and Stephens; and if, in their Dictionaries, there are omissions of passages that ought to have been specified, I doubt not of their being supplied by some of your learned correspondents. The like observation will hold good, though not be of equal force, with respect to derivatives used by Latin authors of the middle ages. *Pontifico*, *pontificatio*, *pontificium*, *pontificalia*, and others, all denote the episcopal office, dignity, habit, &c. without the least reference to the building or repairing of bridges, or to taxes imposed for that work. By an unwarrantable Latinism, if in this instance the term may be allowed, Milton, in his description of the bridge raised over the chaotic expanse by Sin and Death (*Paradise Lost*, book X.), has applied two derivatives as pertinent to bridge-making, viz. *pontifical*, v. 313, and *pontifice*, v. 348. Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, believes that this sense of the words was peculiar to Milton, and perhaps was intended as an equivocal satire on popery. Dr. Warburton (Newton's edit. not.) properly styles it a bad expression, adding, "yet to suppose a pun would be worse, as if the Roman priesthood were as ready to make the way easy to hell, as Sin and Death did." After an attentive perusal of the whole paragraph, I

* "Latinis placuit et *pontificem* appellare eum qui rebus sacris præesset: et, eum plures essent apud veteres, unum qui omnibus præerat *maximum pontificem* dixerunt. Unde vero deductum nomen *pontificis*, non satis constat. Q. Mutius Scævola a *posse* et *facere* appellatos existimat pontifices: at Mar. Varro a *ponte* et *facio* maluit, eo quod ab his primum *pons sablitius* factus ac sæpe restitutus esse perhibeatur, ut refert Fenestella, lib. 1. de Romanorum Magistratibus." Hyperius in *Epist. Pauli ad Heb. cap. ii. ver. 1.* "Nomen ambiguum est, et interdum *stricte* sumitur, interdum *late*: *stricte* designat *summum sacerdotum* qualis fuit *Aaron*, et qui ei succedere in sacro hoc munere. *Late*, et sic illi vocantur *ægyptius* qui erant *capita familiarum sacerdotalium*." Spanhemius de dubiis Evangelicis. Vide Grotium in *Mat. ii. 5.* "Princeps sacerdotum pontifex maximus; princeps etiam sive *caput familiarum sacerdotalium*." Gerh. in *Harm.*

must own, I see no ground for concluding that any sarcastic stricture was levelled at the Roman pontiff. There is, however, a manifest pun, i. e. a distortion of the word from its primary and universal acceptation; and, that Milton did not forbear complying with this taste of the age, there is a glaring proof in the punning speech delivered by Satan upon the opening of his new-invented battery against the good angelic host. But Addison's remarks on the allegory of Sin and Death, as I am inclined to believe, will lead to a plausible surmise of what might occasion Milton's thus adapting the words *pontifical* and *pontifice*. "A reader (observes this ingenious critic) who knows the strength of the English tongue, will be amazed to think how the poet could find such apt words and phrases to describe the actions of these two imaginary persons, and particularly in that part where Death is exhibited as forming a bridge over the chaos; a work suitable to the genius of Milton." Milton, however, from a want of apt words, in their ordinary signification, was, it appears, at length constrained to give a novel meaning to one word, and to coin another, before the ideal bridge could be completed with chimerical materials by visionary architects. And it was in consequence of the same defect that, in a preceding verse (310), he slipt into a deviation from a part of speech, by forming a particle out of a noun substantive in the simile of Xerxes:

Over Hellespont
Bridging his way, Europe with Asia join'd;

for, was not the verb *to bridge* till then unknown in the English language?

Yours, &c.

1793, Nov.

W. and D.

CVIII. A List of Local Expressions, with Illustrations.

MR. URBAN,

AS a knowledge of local expressions may frequently be of service in critical inquiries, and is at least a matter of curiosity, the following list is at your service. You may depend on its authenticity; a circumstance which ought always to be examined in information of this kind; since, either for want of frequent inquiries about the same word, or through the

dishonourable fiction of little wits, there is reason to suppose that many errors have been admitted into vocabularies of this kind.

AUNT. It is common in Cornwall to call all elderly persons *Aunt* or *Uncle*, prefixed to their names. The same custom is said to prevail in the island of Nantucket, in North America. In some parts of England, *Gammer* and *Gaffer* are said to be used in the same manner.

ANUNT. *Opposite to.* Gloucestershire.—Gr. *εναντι*.

A CUSTIS. *A schoolmaster's ferula.* North of Cornwall.

CLOME. *Earthen-ware*; and a *clome shop*; and a *clomen oven*, and the like. General through Devonshire.

CAWCH. *A nasty place. Nastiness.* Devonshire. In other places called a *mess*.

A DONKY, or a DICKY. *An ass.* Essex and Suffolk.—The colliers of Kingswood call the same animal a *Neddy-ass*, but more usually a *Neddy*.

CALLED HOME. *Asked in church by banns*; and this, either the first, second, or third time. King's Sedgemoor.

TO DON, and TO DOFF. *To put on, and put off, the clothes.*

DULL. *Hard of hearing.* Somerset.

AN ERRISH. *A stubble-field.* Devon.

A FESCUE, pronounced also Vester. *A pin, or point, with which to teach children to read.* Cornwall. Probably a corruption of *Verse-cue*; *Verse* being vulgarly pronounced all through the West, *Ves*.

A GOUT. *An under ground drain of a house or street.* Camden mentions this word as peculiar to Bristol in his (Queen Elizabeth's) time. *Gowtes* and *gutters* occur in two deeds (dated 1472 and 1478) in the collection of deeds belonging to the library of Bristol. It is still the only word used in that city.

TO GORGEY. *To shake. Looke how our chimney do gorgey with the wind.* King's Sedgemoor. The original is, probably, *to gorge*; it being common in Somerset to add a *y* to numberless words, such as *to droppy*, &c.

A GOOD-DAY. *A holiday.* Staffordshire.

A PAIR OF JEMMIES. *Hinges.* Minehead.

LARY. *Empty.* Devon.

A LYNCHER. *A border of grass, left to divide property in a ploughed common-field.* Sedgemoor.

THE LEACH-ROAD. *The path by which a funeral is carried to church.* Somerset and Devon. It often deviates from the high road, and even from any path now in use; in which

case the country people will break down the hedges, rather than pass by an unhallowed way.

TO LUMPER. *To stumble, as a horse.* Sedgemoor.

TO MOOCH. *To play truant, to stay from school.* Bristol.

MAZED. *Deranged in mind.* Cornwall. *Mazed Bet Par-kin*, a woman well known in Padstow some 30 years since.—Perhaps some of your correspondents may have made the same observation as myself, that there was a surprising number of persons of that description along the North coast of Devon and Cornwall.

MOILED. *Troubled, fatigued.* Sedgemoor.

NAN? A vulgar expression in the West of England, particularly in Gloucestershire, which means *what do you say?* *Ha*, or *Hai*, is commonly used for the same. In the neighbourhood of Sedgemoor, *say ma'am*—*say sir*, is very common.

NESH. *Soft, tender.* It is applied to the health, and means *delicate*. Somerset.

A PEEL. *A pillow.* Somerset and Devon.

PILLUM. *Dirt.* Devon.

A PICKSEY. *A fairy.* Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. *Picksey-led, bewildered, led astray*, particularly in the night, by a Jack-a-lantern, which is believed to be the work of the Picksies.

A PLOUGH. A waggon, or cart, or plough, together with the team which draws it, is called by no other name in several parts of Somersetshire.

TO DRIVE THE PRAY. *To drive the cattle from the moor.* Sedgemoor. French, *près*, a meadow.

RETCHUP, so pronounced, though the original is probably *Rightship*. *Truth*, Somersetshire. *As, there is no retchup in that child.*

A RAIL. *A revel, a country wake.* Devon.

A SLICE. *A fire shovel.* Bristol.

STIVE. *Dust.* Pembrokeshire. *Dust* is there only used to signify *sawdust*.

TO SAR. *To earn.* Sedgemoor. *As, To sar seven Shillings a week.* The same word is also used as a corruption of *serve*; *as, To sar the pigs.*

A SCUTE. *A reward.* North of Devon.

TO SLOTTER. *To slop, to mess, to dirt.* Devon.

STURE. *Dust.* Devon.

TO SLOCK. *To pilfer, or give privately;* and a *Slockster, a pilferer.* Devon and Somerset.

TO FOR AT. All over Devon.

TH for S, in the third person singular of verbs. Devon. As, *It rainth—He livth to Parracomb—Whene he jumpth, all shakth.*

TIDY. *Neat, decent.* West of England.

TO TINE. *To light, &c.* As, *Tine the candle.* Somerset. Pronounced, in Devon, Tin.

TO TINE is likewise used in the neighbourhood of Sedgemoor for *to shut*. As, *Tine the door—He has not tined his eyes to sleep these three nights.*

A TITTY. Pronounced also, in other places, a Titty. *A nosegay.* Somerset.

TWILY. *Restless.* Somerset. Perhaps a corruption of *Toily*.

TUTT-WORK. *Job-work*, as distinguished from work by the day. Somerset and Devon; and in the Cornish and Derbyshire mines. Probably derived from the French *tout*.

UNKID, or UNCUT. *Dull, melancholy.* Somerset.

VITTY. *Neat, decent, suitable.* Cornwall. Perhaps a corruption of *Fit*, or *Fetive*.

TO VANG. *To give, reach, hand.* Devon. As, *Vang me the bread.*

VORTHY. *Forward, assuming.* Somerset and Dorset.—The original is, perhaps, *forthy*, derived from the adverb *forth*.

WISHT. *Dull, gloomy.* Cornwall.

Some of your correspondents will perhaps be able to inform you, that the use of most of these words is more extensive than is here set down. What is now sent is from the actual observation of one who is no great traveller.

1793, Dec. S.

MR. URBAN,

THE following illustrations of some of the local expressions, may not, perhaps, be unacceptable; and the instances, which I have subjoined of their usage by our great poets of elder days, may serve to evince the utility of such collections in critical inquiries, if, indeed, the thing requires any proof. To the authenticity of your correspondent's list, as far as it relates to Somerset, I can, and gladly do, bear testimony.

DON and DOFF are well known to be contracted from *do on*, and *do off*. From *don* is also formed the substantive *donnings*. *Doff* occurs frequently in Shakespeare and Spenser, and twice in Milton.

"I praise thy resolution : *doff* these links."
Samps. Agon.

"Nature in awe to him
Had *dofft* her gawdy trim."
Ode on the Nativity.

JEMMIES. *Hinges.* Grose, in his Provincial Glossary, gives *Jimmers*, and a North-country word, in the same sense. In Somerset, I believe, the more common pronunciation to be *jimmels*, perhaps from the French *jumelle*, a twin; *gemellus*.

TO MOOCH, *to play truant.* Otherwise *mich*, or *meech*, Somers. "Shall the blessed son of heaven prove a *micher*, and eat black-berries." Shakespeare, Hen. IV. Part I. Act 2. Grose has "*michers*, thieves, pilferers, Norf."

MOILED, *troubled, fatigued.* Most likely from *moile*, or *mayle*, the ancient mode of writing; and the present West country mode of pronouncing the name of that laborious animal, the mule.

NESH is used by Chaucer, I think, though I cannot now point out the particular passage; but I am certain that I have met with it in some old author of note.

PLOUGH, for a waggon and horses, comes probably from *plaustrum*, or rather from the Italian, *plastro*; the diphthong *au* being sounded by the Italians like the English *ou*.

SCUTE, *a reward.* Bp. Fleetwood mentions a French gold coin, named a *scute*, of the value of 3s. 4d. current in England in 1427. See Chronicon Preciosum.

TIDY, *neat, decent.* Dol Tear-sheet calls Falstaff, "thou whoreson little *tydie* Bartholomew Boar-pig." Hen. IV. P. ii. Act 2.

TINE, *to light.* As, *tine the candle.* Thus Milton,

————as late the clouds
Justling, or push'd with winds, rude in their shock,
Tine the slant lightning."——

Par. Lost, B. X. l. 1073.

TINE, *to shut.* Verstegan gives, "*betined*, hedged about," in his list of old English words; and adds, "We use yet in some parts of England to say *tyning* for hedging." Antiquities, Ed. 4to. 1634, p. 210. In Somerset an inclosed field is frequently called a *tining*, in opposition to a down or open common.

TWILY. Perhaps a corruption of *toily*.—Certainly ; for toil is always pronounced by the Western rustics *twile* ; spoil, *spwile*, &c.

TUTT-WORK. From the French *tout*. This is, probably, the true etymology ; at least it coincides with the notion which I have always entertained of its derivation ; and it may be remarked, that such of our old provincial words as are not Saxon, come for the most part from the French. There are very few among them, I believe, which are mere barbarous inventions, devoid of any signification ; as some authors are fond of representing them. Many, doubtless, are so corrupted, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace them to their genuine original ; but, to say that such an original does not, or did not, exist, is not only to draw an undue inference, but also to make an assertion in itself extremely improbable.

Yours, &c.

1794, Feb.

R. P.

CIX. Critique on Virgil.

MR. URBAN,

AT the conclusion of that Stoical system of philosophy, concerning the origin and rotation of mankind (a sort of metempsychosis different from the Pythagorean and Indian), delivered by the good Anchises, we have these lines :

Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvêre per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno :
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant,
Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.

Æn. VI. 748.

But, in my opinion, the two last lines have, by some means, been transposed, and the *ut* and *et* have consequently changed places ; and the forgetfulness, induced by the River *Lethæ*, should extend as well to the torments they had seen and suffered in the shades below, as to their being re-born with any innate notions or ideas of what they had known in their former state of existence here. Their desire of renascence should therefore take place before we are told of their being to be born without any remembrance. And so I would read,

Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvêre per annos,
 Lethæum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno :
 Rursus ut incipiant in corpora velle reverti,
 Scilicet immemores supera et convexa revisant.

A similar transposition has, I think, also happened in v. 567 of this same book, where of that sovereign judge Rhadamanthus, it is said,

Castigatque auditque dolos ; subigitque fateri, &c.

but, stern and severe as this judge is supposed to be, he must nevertheless have been *just*, to entitle him to his office ; and yet it would be highly absurd and cruel in him, and extremely unjust, to punish a person before he had heard the cause as Servius notes, and therefore would read it thus :

Audit, castigatque dolos ; subigitque fateri, &c.

for then, indeed, if after the conviction, the criminal should be made by torture, or any other means, to confess his guilt, there would be nothing much to be blamed, in respect to injustice, or wantonness of cruelty. However, it must be owned at last, that the common order of the words is ancient, as appears from Servius.

1794, Jan.

L. E.

CX. Solecisms in the Works of English Authors.

MR. URBAN,

IT is well known that the ancient Greeks and Romans took infinite pains to improve their respective languages. We have many remarkable instances of their labours to this effect in the writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the author who passes under the name of Demetrius Phalereus, Cicero, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, and others. The English reader will be surprised to see with what exactness they measured their periods, analyzed their phrases, arranged their words, determined the length of their syllables, and avoided all harsh elementary sounds, in order to give grace and harmony to their compositions. To this refinement we may, in a great measure, ascribe that inexpressible charm,

which every man of taste and learning discovers in some of the classics, and which is not to be found in the generality of modern compositions.

Such an attention to propriety and elegance of style is of the greatest importance, as no production can be read with pleasure, or transmitted to posterity with applause, if it is defective in this respect. It should likewise be considered, that the literary character of a nation will always depend on the accuracy and elegance of its publications.

Since the beginning of the present century the English language has been much improved and refined. Several able writers have examined its principles, and pointed out its beauties and defects, with a critical and philosophical investigation.

I must, however, observe, that many enormous solecisms still appear in almost all the productions of our English writers, such as,

You was. This expression sometimes occurs in books, is often heard in conversation, and frequently echoes through the caverns of Westminster-hall. The nominative case is the second person plural; and the verb, to which it is united, is the first or the third person singular.

More or most universal. Its success was not *more* universal. Gibbon, vol. II. p. 357. Money is the *most* universal incitement of human industry. Id. vol. I. p. 356; vol. III. p. 66, &c. Company *more* universally acceptable. Zeluco, vol. I. p. 398. That which pleases *most* universally is religion. Blair's Serm. vol. II. p. 168. What is universal cannot admit of augmentation.

Of all others. The profession, *of all others*, for which he was the fittest. Zeluco, vol. I. pp. 75, 110. The most precious *of all others*. Anachar. vol. III. p. 288. It is that species of goodness, with which, *of all others*, we are best acquainted. Blair's Serm. vol. II. p. 129. To collect a dictionary seems a work, *of all others*, least practicable in a state of blindness. Johnson's Life of Milton, p. 169. This expression resembles the following absurdity in Milton:

Adam, the goodliest man of men since born
His sons; the fairest of her daughters Eve.

B. iv. 323.

I would not attempt to vindicate Milton, as some have done, by pleading, that this is a figure of speech, or a *poetic licence*; I would rather say with Horace, it is one of the

Maculæ, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.

Ar. Poet, 352.

No apology, however, can be made for the foregoing expression in prose.

Either side. *Either* sex and every age was engaged in the pursuits of industry. Gibbon, vol. I. 452. He retired with a multitude of captives of *either* sex. Ib. IV. 281. Filled with a great number of persons of *either* sex. Ib. vol. II. 324: *alibi passim*. "In that violent conflict of parties he [Edward Smith] had a prologue and epilogue from the first wits on *either* side." Johnson's Lives, vol. II. p. 248. *Either* signifies *only the one or the other*; and is improperly used instead of *each* in the singular number, or *both* in the plural.

We meet with innumerable writers who talk of looking into the *womb* of Time. But this expression suggests a gross and indelicate idea, and is in itself absurd; for, Time, according to the mythologists, is an old fellow, the Chronos or Saturn of the ancients, and consequently has no womb. All personifications ought to be consistent.

An accusative or objective case after a passive participle. He [Thompson] was taught the common rudiments of learning. Johnson's Lives, vol. IV. p. 252. He [Watts] was taught Latin by Mr. Pinhorne. Ib. p. 278. He [Milton] was offered the continuance of his employment. Ib. vol. I. 183. Thus I have been told the story. Telem. vol. I. p. 92, edit. 1795. It would be better to say, he was instructed in the rudiments of learning; he learned Latin under the tuition of Mr. Pinhorne; the king, or the ministry, offered to continue him in his former employment; thus I have heard the story; or, thus I have been informed. The author of these remarks has observed, with regret, the last of these expressions in a translation, which he wished to give the public in an unexceptionable style. But he has been long convinced, that no work was ever published without some inadvertencies of the author and printer.

Two highwaymen were *hung* this morning. This is a common vulgarism. We should rather say, Two highwaymen were *hanged*. This verb should be used in the regular form, when it signifies to *execute*, and in the irregular, when it denotes only *suspension*: as, he was *hanged*, and afterwards *hung* in chains.

The *eldest* of the two. Her *eldest* son Esau. Gen. xxvii. 15. When *only two* things are mentioned, there cannot be

what grammarians sometimes call the third degree of comparison. In this case we should say, the *younger*, the *elder*, the *wiser*, the *better*, &c.

The conjunction *nor* is frequently used after an affirmative sentence very improperly, in this manner :

It was impossible that a soldier could esteem so dissolute a sovereign, *nor* is it easy to conceal a just contempt. Gibbon, vol. II. 5. Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women, who have sustained with glory the weight of empire ; *nor* is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters. Ib. 32. This treacherous calm was of short duration ; *nor* could the Christians of the East place any confidence in the character of their sovereign. Ib. vol. II. 487. *alibi passim*. He was young enough to receive new impressions ; *nor* can he be supposed to have wanted curiosity. Johnson's Lives, vol. IV. 259. The Poet leads us through the appearance of things as they are successively varied—*nor* is the Naturalist without his part in the entertainment. Ib. p. 273. The versification is tolerable, *nor* can criticism allow it a higher praise. Ib. p. 438. By the Spectator it has once been quoted, *nor* do I recollect much other notice from its publication till now. Ib. vol. I. p. 77. To put their materials to practical use, is required an imagination capable of painting nature ; *nor* is he yet a poet till, &c. Ib. p. 235. All is general and undefined ; *nor* does he much interest or affect the auditor. Ib. vol. II. p. 340. This ode is by far the best lyric composition in this collection ; *nor* do I know where to find it equalled among the modern writers. Ib. p. 245. It would, I think, be much better to begin the latter part of these sentences without this conjunction, which only seems to form a connection, but in reality has no corresponding negative. The simple independent word *not* would be preferable : he does not much interest ; I do not even know, &c.

Among other expressions, equally *correct* and *refined*, we meet with the following sentence in the Preface to Maty's Sermons : “ *nor* was he less esteemed than beloved :” which is just as proper as it would be to say, Mr. Maty was a good man, *nor* was he a bad preacher. In this passage the learned editors of these discourses have likewise given us a curious antithesis, a counterpoise of love and esteem, adjusted with as much care as the old woman balances her scales in the Iliad.

I have been more particular in noting this use of the conjunction *nor*, because it occurs very frequently. But vulgar usage can never justify an absurdity. The impropriety, I

believe, has never yet been observed; and some, perhaps, may think the foregoing expressions unexceptionable. I shall not dispute with critics who are so easily satisfied.

1797, *July*.

EUSEBIUS.

CXI. Addison's Observation on Virgil's ACHATES.

MR. URBAN,

Sunderland, July 17.

IN an Essay on Friendship, No. 385 of the Spectator, the good Mr. Addison says, "I do not remember that Achates, who is represented as the first favourite, either gives his advice, or strikes a blow, through the whole *Æneid*."

The learned Dr. Joseph Warton quotes this passage in his second volume of Virgil, p. 74*, but says nothing thereon.

In the 12th book of the *Æneid*, I find, in line 459,

Epulonem obtruncat Achates.

To the character of the faithful Achates, as a soldier, I offer this tribute of acknowledgment, not having noticed it elsewhere in the course of my reading.

1798, *July*.

C. A.

CXII. Latin Preface intended by Burton for his History of Leicestershire.

MR. URBAN,

Hartshorn, Dec. 21.

THE following unpublished original, which I promised you in my last, being doubtless intended by the author as a Preface to his Leicestershire, which he afterwards changed into the published English one, I hope you will think worthy of preservation in your Magazine.

"Will'mus Burton, Lindliacus, Leicestrensis, amico lectori salutem.

"Cum in omni genere cognitionis, scientia antiquitatum

* In the third edition, p. 117. E.

rerumque veterum et præteritarum sit dignissima et maxime laudabilis, tum, ut mihi videtur, earum conservatio, et ab ima oblivione sive interitu vindicatio, æquam meretur laudem. Quum enim ego non ita pridem in libellum incidi qui antiquitates, monumenta, et multa alia notatu digna comitatus Leicestrensis, tum etiam paucorum circumjacentium comitatum, illustravit, hoc animo animadvertens meo, nil gratius quam prodesse multis, ejiciens omnem laboris metum, aggrediendum duxi, quem rudi penna et pennicillo (ut aiunt) indocto hic depinxi, et ut nemini ingratus viderer, narrabo breviter, per quos profeci, et quorum labore congestus hic liber sit. Will'mus Wyrley, patria Leicestrensis, natus, ut ipse refert, apud Seale, com. Leic. 4 Eliz. e gentilitiis Staff. oriundus, et per matrem e familia de Charnels, de Snareston, com. Leic. homo sedulus et honestus, et studio heraldico multum addictus, circa annum 1588, hunc laborem suscepit, nimirum perambulandi et colligendi antiquitates, arma gentilitia, cæteraque notatu digna, quæ in quavis ecclesia, locove celebriori infra comitatum Leicestrensem, et alibi forent spectanda, non sine impensis et labore gravi: sæpeque mihi retulit (familiariter enim cum eo egi) se totum comitatum Leicestrensem, topographica, historica, et heraldica narratione, descriptum velle. Quantum hac in re progressus est pro certo non habeo; vereor enim ne impeditus negotiis, vel aliis coactus causis, propositum intermiserit: circa annum 1599 profectus est in Scotiam ad regem Jacobum, et, quantum nunc audio, circa palatium regis moratur: sed amplius de instituto suo hac in re pro comperto non teneo. Quocirca quum tam commoda et necessaria sit hæc descriptio et unicuique perutilis, ego tametsi ex minimis infimus, ex indoctis indoctissimus, exemplo inductus doctissimi et reverendissimi viri Gul. Camdeni, cui Britannia tantum debet quantum orbis Ortelio, exemplo etiam Joh'is Nordeni et Ricardi Carewe, quorum hic Cornubiam, ille Middlesexiam et Hertfordiam descripsit, tum etiam exemplo amici mei singularis et unice colendi viri literatissimi et ornatissimi Samsonis Erdeswick, de Sandon, Staffordiensis, qui accuratissime, quantum unquam aliquis, comitatus Stafford et Cestriæ descripsit, opus grande, doctissimum, laboratissimeque navatum: sed, heu dolendum! immatura præreptus morte, in lucem non edidit sicut in animo esset suo, cujus consilii ego testis etiam esse possim; quod opus in cujus nunc latet manibus incertum est; audiavi nuper, quod penes esset Tho. Gerrard, militem, utinam in lucem propediem prodiret in perpetuam reipublicæ utilitatem. His ego, inquam, instigatus exemplis, et his de causis permotus, pro-

vinciam Leicestrensem illustrandam suscepi; collegi quædam laceris chartis, et, quantum pro tam brevi temporis spatio licuit, antiquitates quasdam enodavi, insignia gentilitia et stemmata genealogica comparavi; sed vereor ne quod mihi proposueram assequi non possim; duobus enim fere abhinc annis incidi in morbum dictum phthisim sive tabem, quo nunc afficior, cujus diuturnitate continua, vires corporis ita fractæ et labefactatæ sunt, ut nec mihi facultas studendi, nec potestas investigandi aut scribendi, data sit: interim tamen quibus possim viribus operam intendo, ut hic comitatus, qui a nobilibus præclarissimis, si quis in Anglia alter, et multis antiquitatibus refertur, inter reliquos emicet, caputque elevet suum, “quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi.” Faxit Deus, ut in studiosorum et candidatorum gratiam, hanc descriptionem, usque ad summum desiderium, quod avide cupio et aveo, perficiam et perfectis partibus absolvam. Interea temporis (amice lector) hoc opus æque accipito, quod non sine magno labore et sumptu collectum fuit, et quantum ego pro virili comprehendere possim, mei incuria vel negligentia omissum non erit. Vale.

“*Lindley, 7 Apr. 1604.*”

On the opposite page is the following :

“Collectio armorum, insignium gentilitiorum, tumulorum, et eorum inscriptionum, monumentorum, et cæterarum antiquitatum, in singula fere ecclesia, templo, monasterio, aliove loco memorabili, in comitatu Leicestrensi, quas ætas et tempus ad nos devenire permiserunt, hic descripta, labore et studio plerumque Will'mi Wyrley Leicestrensis.

“Accessit etiam collectio antiquitatum in quibusdam ecclesiis in comitatibus circumjacentibus, cæterisque ubicunque labore prædicti W. Wyrley.*

“Nomina eorum, qui huic cumulo aliquid adjecerunt.

“S. E. Sampson Erdeswick, de Sandon, Staff.

“H. P. Humfredus Purefoy, de Barwell, Leic.

“W. B. Will'mus Burton, de Lindley, Leic.

* Wyrley began his Survey in 1569. His original MS. containing also many churches in Staffordshire, Northamptonshire, York, Rutland, and Warwickshire, is now in the library of the Herald's college; bearing the mark V. 197. It appears also that he afterwards accompanied Burton in his Survey of the Churches there in the years 1603, 1608, &c. In V. No. 127, in the same library, is a fair and beautiful copy of both their labours in this way, with the arms, monuments, and antiquities, well drawn. E.

- “ H. A. Hieronimus Aston, de Leicester.
“ T. P. Thomas Purefoy, de Barwell, Leic.
“ W. S. Will'mus Smith, Londinensis.
“ N. C. Nicholaus Charles, Londinensis.
“ R. C. Robertus Cooke, Clarentius Rex Armorum.
“ N. D. Nicholaus Dethick, Windsor Heraldus.
“ Edmundus Gunter, Ædis Christi, in Oxon. scholaris.
“ T. I. Thomas Ingram, de Hinkley, Leic.
“ W. Bel. Will'mus Belcher, de Gildesburg, Northampt.”

Yours, &c.

S. SHAW, jun.

P.S. The following original letter (found amongst the same MSS.) may likewise merit perpetuity.

“ To his worthy friend, WM. BURTON, Esq. at Lindley, these.

“ WORTHY SIR,

Aug. 5, 1639.

“ I have herewithall safely returned your deedes, which I borrowed, with many thankes ; but I hope you have yet a second course for me of choiser stuffe : for I assure you, most of these are not worthy the custodie you bestow on them. I was lately at Grendon, where I had sight of some evidences of Mr. Chetwynd's ; and amongst them I find the covenants betwixt Aliva, the widow of Sir Wm. Chetwynd, of Ingestre, knt. and Wm. Purefoy ; viz. that William, the sonne and heire of the said Wm. Purefoy, shall marry Margaret, the daughter of the said Aliva, before the feast of the exaltation of the holy crosse next. Dat. at Churchwaven, on the feast of Bartholomew, 21 R. II. And in the church of Grendon, in a south window, there are two pictures ; the one of a man in armour, the other of a woman, each havinge upon their surcotes these armes, Quarterly, 1 and 4, Gu. a chevron Erm. between 3 leopards' faces Or. 2d and 3d, Sa. on a fess Ar. (should be Gu. I thinke) 3 leopards' faces Or. between 3 saltires Ar. Under the man the same in a shield ; the scutcheon under the woman is broken. I find likewise amongst his evidences a very fayre deede, the seale perfect in greene wax, whereby Wm. Basset grants to Robert Grendon, in frank marriage with Emma his daughter, *totam terram de feodo suo in villa de Houdeby, cum homagio et servicio d'ni Steph. de Seagrave.* Amongst others, Tho. de Esteley is a witnesse. I take it to be in the beginning of H. III. tyme. The armes in the seale are these, 6 piles a canton varie. I am this morning going to my honoured friend

Sir Chr. Hatton, with whom I thinke I shall stay a monthe. I intreate you to see for what more deedes or other things of consequence you have to fitt me with; and after my returne I shall be bold to see you. Thus, wishing you all health and prosperitie, doe with my best respects remembered, rest, at your service,

“WM. DUGDALE, Blanch Lyon.”

This great antiquary was also visiting his said friend in May preceding, as appears by his neat copy of a curious deed before me, thus inscribed: “Ex autographo, penes Chr. Hatton, miln. baln. Maij. 3^o, 1639.” It is Robert Earl of Leicester’s grant to the monastery of Alcester, in Warwickshire, as printed in the *Monasticon*, tom. i. p. 471. This copy contains several explanatory notes, by Burton, of places in Leicestershire, &c.

1798, Dec.

S. S.

CXIII. On the Authenticity of the Arabian Tales, by Dr. Russell.

MR. URBAN,

HAVING remarked that several of your correspondents have solicited information concerning the Arabic MSS. of the Arabian Nights Entertainments now in England, and finding my name occasionally introduced with that of Mr. Professor White, I sit down to communicate what I know of the matter, in hopes that the learned Professor, as well as others who have it in their power, may be induced to answer the queries of your correspondents in a manner much more satisfactory.

In a note, in the last edition of the *Natural History of Aleppo*, I have asserted, “that the Arabian Tales, a Thousand and One Nights, is a scarce book at Aleppo; that, after much inquiry, I found only two volumes, containing 280 nights, and with difficulty obtained leave to have a copy taken. I was shewn (1771) more than one complete copy in the Vatican library; and one at Paris in the King’s library, said also to be complete.” It may be proper to add here, that what is said of the Vatican and Parisian MSS. of which I had only a transient view, rests on the authority of the librarians.

The first three volumes of M. Galland’s translation contains 238 nights; in the succeeding three volumes, each

story proceeds uninterruptedly. The repetition of the Dialogue between the two sisters at the beginning and conclusion of each night, which is continued throughout the MS. was intentionally omitted by M. Galland, after the first volume.

From the beginning to the 75th night, with some slight variation in the division of Nights, the MS. and the translation agree. The story of the three Calenders terminates in the MS. in the 75th night; in the translation, in the 69th.

The story of Sinbad, which occupies from the 70th to the 91st Night in the translation, is entirely wanting in my MS. the story of the Three Apples following immediately that of the Calenders, and terminating in the 79th night; whereas in the translation, the story of the Apples terminates in the 93d night, on account of the intervening story of Sinbad.

From the 93d night in the translation (MS. 80) to the 210th (MS. 200) the stories, with little variation, proceed in the same series; but after that there is a total deviation from the order preserved in the MS.; for, the story of Noured-din Aly, which in the MS. is continued from night 200 to 229, does not appear in the French translation till the beginning of the 4th volume, and is followed by the story of Bider Prince of Persia, which in the MS. commences in the 229th night, and ends in night 272. Part of the story of Camaralzaman, from night 272 to 281, finishes the MS. while that story, in the translation, is found in the 3d volume, comprehended in 17 nights, from 211 to 228. The stories related in the other ten nights of that volume are not in the MS.

From the foregoing detail, there seems no ground to doubt that M. Galland translated from a copy similar to the MS. now in my possession. In the conduct of the principal incidents, as well as in the termination of the tales, there is no material disagreement. The variation remarked in the division of the nights, and arrangement of the stories, may easily be accounted for.

In general, with respect to the translation, no doubt great liberty, in accommodation to French manners, has been taken with the original. A reason for omitting the stanzas and elegies, which occur so frequently throughout the MS. has been assigned in M. Galland's Preface; and a few scenes, too licentiously described in the original, have with propriety been softened or suppressed: but other descriptions, though expressive of Oriental *costume*, have with less reason been omitted, particularly two nights in vol. II. p. 155. It may be remarked also, that M. Galland is sometimes exu-

berant far beyond the original, and inserts in the narrative what is rather a commentary for the European reader, than suitable to the characters of the drama.

Mr. Richardson, in his excellent Grammar, has observed, respecting the story of the barber's fifth brother, "that the deviation from the original is greater than even a free translation seemed to require;" a remark which may justly be extended to many other parts of the translation, after every allowance is made for variation in the MSS.

The MS. from which Mr. Richardson translated the story of Alnaschar, must, like mine, have wanted the story of Sinbad, the story of Alnaschar beginning in both MSS. in the 162d night; but in M. Galland's translation (on account, as before observed, of Sinbad's adventures intervening) it begins in the 176th night.

In a considerable number of separate tales which I collected in the East, I find but few contained in M. Galland's translation. Among these are the first eight nights of the Arabian Nights, with this variation, that the fable of the ass, the ox, and the labourer, in Galland's, vol. I. p. 25, is related by the third old man, instead of a story in favour of the merchant. These eight nights stand under the title of the Merchant and the Genie; but the narrative is uninterrupted, and without any intimation whence it was borrowed. There is another story, under the title of the Khalif and the Fisherman, a fragment much abridged and mutilated, evidently also from the Arabian Nights, without any acknowledgment. There is one more, "The story of the Fair Persian" (Galland, vol. IV.); which, though rather more full, agrees in general with the MS. of the Arabian Nights; but is remarkable on account of its mention of coffee, which I do not recollect meeting with in any part of the Arabian Nights; the genuine tales being probably of an older date than the introduction of the use of coffee into Arabia.

I suspect, therefore, this last circumstance, as well as some introduced by way of amplification in other places, to be modern additions; and this the rather, from having remarked that, in copies made from my own MS. the scribes were little scrupulous in abridging descriptions, changing words, and adding decorations, as fancy happened to lead; a licence not assumed in MSS. of serious import, which are always carefully compared and corrected.

In respect to the continuation of the Arabian Nights, published in 1792, I find, in my miscellaneous collection abovementioned, the three first stories in the first volume; the third story in the second; and the first and thirteenth in

the third volume. They are totally unconnected, have each their distinct preface, and may very possibly belong to the large collection mentioned by M. Galland. On the supposition of the French translation being made from MSS. not very different from mine, the liberty assumed of amplification seems to me, on a cursory perusal, far to exceed that of M. Galland in his version of the Arabian Nights.

Yours, &c.

1799, *Feb.*

P. R.

CXIV. Dissertation on Accents.

MR. URBAN,

Wadham College, Oxford, June 28.

Qui cavet, ne decipiatur, vix cavet, cum etiam cavet;
Etiam cum cavisse ratus est, sæpe is cautor captus est.

Plaut. Capt. A. II. s. 2.

I KNOW few subjects of classical inquiry upon which we have attained to less certainty, than the doctrine of accent and quantity; and yet there are probably few subjects more interesting to the accomplished scholar. Accent and quantity are generally presumed to be things totally different in themselves; but there are not wanting critics, and those of high name, who doubt this complete difference. Accents are these; the acute, and the grave, simple signs of sound; and the circumflex, compounded of both. The two first are frequently placed upon short syllables without altering their quantity. Yet how this should in reality be the case, I cannot *readily* comprehend.

A short syllable is, by custom and authority, pronounced in as short a time as is consistent with distinction of sound. If therefore, a note of accent make any alteration in such a syllable, what, I would ask, must the alteration be? Certainly not to accelerate the pronunciation. But it will possibly be objected, that, though accents do not accelerate the pronunciation, yet they evidently increase the tone and energy of the syllable. But can the tone and energy of a short syllable be increased without increasing the time? If any learned reader will try the experiment, I believe he will find the undertaking somewhat difficult.

There are many words in the learned languages of which the modern pronunciation appears to be scarcely consistent with the rules of quantity. For reasons well known to

scholars, the accent cannot with propriety be thrown farther back than the antepenultima even in the longest words. This, in polysyllables, will often occasion the stress or elevation of the voice to be placed upon those members of a word which are by nature or position short.

In the words *Pontifices*, *Hermione*, *Urceolus*, *Filiolus*, and, indeed, all others consisting of a choriambic under one combination, accent and quantity are worse friends than becometh such near neighbours. The following passage of Juvenal places the stress of the sound upon a short syllable.

Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootæ.

Sat. V. l. 23.

Again, in Virgil,* we find,

Emicat Euryalus, et munere victor amici.

Æn. V. l. 337.

Similar instances everywhere abound. What shall we say then? Does the accent upon a short syllable produce any variation in the time? And, if so, in what consists the essential difference between accent and quantity? This is a question much easier to propose than to answer.

Port Royal Grammar upon the Latin tongue, and Dr. Forster upon Greek accent, are critics of unexceptionable merit; and yet observe how widely they differ upon this subject. The former says, "As accents were invented for no other purpose than to mark the tone of the voice, they are therefore, no sign of the quantity† of syllables,

* How are we to reconcile the following contradictory quantities of the same verb, from high authority? I fear we must have recourse to that powerful classic lever, a licence, to remove the difficulty.

Stridere apes utero, et ruptis effervere costis.

Georg. IV. 556.

Cogaris, pressoque diu stridere molari.

Juv. Sat. V. 160.

† This reasoning appears close and conclusive; yet if we examine it attentively, we shall discover, I think, a latent fallacy. As the profound and excellent author elsewhere admits a variation of time, conformable with accent, amongst those syllables that are marked short, may not the same variation also exist amongst those that are marked long? In polysyllables, where the penultima is long, the accent, he observes, lies upon it: but in similar words, where both penultima and antepenultima are short, the accent is placed upon the antepenultima, because two short syllables are equivalent to one long one. Here then the accent is placed according to time; if not according to the outward measure, certainly according to the inward computation.

whether long or short; which is evidently proved, because a word may have several long syllables, and yet it shall have but one accent; as, on the contrary, it may be composed entirely of short ones, and yet shall have its accent, as *Asia, Dominus,*" &c. P. R. b. II. p. 54.

The latter thus expresses himself, p. 67: "No man can read prose or verse according to both accent and quantity? for every accent, if it is *any thing*, must give some stress to the syllable upon which it is placed; and every stress that is laid upon a syllable, must necessarily give some extent to it: for, every elevation of the voice implieth time, and time is quantity. ΟΥΤΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΡΙΣΧΕΤΑΙ, ΣΤΕ ΤΟΝΟΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ." MS. Bib. Reg. Ang. p. 2.

To be plain, then, there is much weight in the last argument; and the observations of Dr. Forster, although made upon Greek accent, are, in many instances, applicable to Latin. And here let us not conceive that the present is a mere question of words, and therefore undeserving of notice; since, upon a just knowledge of the beauties* of pronunciation depends much of that exquisite pleasure which we derive from polite literature. If we may judge of the difficulty of any accomplishment by the rarity of its attainment, to *pronounce* Latin is more difficult than to translate it. For one person who can read it correctly, even according to present rules, we find about five who can translate it so.

To what shall we attribute this defect? Shall we say that men, considering the pronunciation of Latin as a secondary and inferior acquisition, pay all their attention to the construing of it; as we sometimes meet with great writers who cannot *spell*? But what is more unworkmanlike, or inelegant, than to see scholars by profession stumble at the very threshold of the Muses? And herein, I think, consists one advantage, amongst many, of public schools; namely, that in such seminaries boys are well grounded in the principles of quantity, although by some they have been thought to spend too much time upon this pursuit.

Our rules of quantity give us, accurately enough, the

* As we politely accommodated our continental neighbours by adopting, anno 1752, their method of reckoning time, so of late we seem disposed to accommodate them still farther, by adopting, in part, their method of pronouncing Latin. This is chiefly observable in the full and open enunciation commonly given to the vowel A. We are told of Milton, that he affected the foreign pronunciation; and was accustomed to observe, that "to read Latin with an English mouth is as ill a bearing as low French." *Lives of the Poets*, vol. I. p. 174.

proportion of sound that syllables bear to each other in the two extremes of long and short; but this knowledge will not give us the *general* time. They teach us that two short syllables are equivalent to one long one; but can we hence collect, whether the whole movement was quick or slow, the tone variable or monotonous?

Port Royal conceives, and with great appearance of probability, that the discriminating ears of the Romans were not contented with the present arrangement of long and short syllables only, but that they had an intermediate measure, consisting of a time and half, upon which the accent in polysyllables* often lay. He farther observes, that there was a considerable distinction in pronunciation between syllables short by nature and short by position. As the matter at present stands, it does not appear that learners derive any material advantage from mere accents. The circumflex may indeed be of some service, because it is *now* connected with quantity; but the grave and the acute seem but little to facilitate true pronunciation. In autographs or MSS. they are rarely used, and readers find no great loss of them.

What then, the intelligent reader will observe, do you altogether reject the use of accents, so generally received? And would you reduce pronunciation to one dull monotony? Certainly not; although I conceive, with submission, that accents, as they are now managed, may in some cases be nugatory, and in some detrimental. I would distinguish, however, between the use and abuse of these modern signs of sound, and would assign to them their proper merit. It is true, I believe, that accents, by encroaching on *quantity*, may enable a judicious Latin reader to introduce some slight distinction into the sound of his voice? but it is also true, that they are highly inadequate to convey to us any just conception of the variety, the richness, and the extreme

* Is it lawful to suggest, without offending Latin ears, that, strictly speaking, there can be no such thing as a polysyllable consisting wholly of short feet,

that is, of feet of equal times? Danaides, Periphrasis, Homini-bus, Opiparus. In pronouncing a word of many syllables, it has been observed that there must necessarily be some foundation for the voice to rest on; to which point of support all the other parts of the sound recur, as to a common centre. On the other hand, to consider any syllable as absolutely long, which the poets have agreed to consider as short, would be to contradict their authority, and to fall into fatal heresy. What, therefore, remains in this merciless dilemma between accent and quantity, but to agree with P. R. respecting the intermediate measure of a *time and half*? Upon these grounds we shall treat our polysyllables and choriambics *handsomely*; and not, like Bayes, having introduced them on the stage, leave them to get off again as they can.

accuracy, of tone and time, with which the Romans, we are informed, pronounced their language.

It now only remains to consider our first proposition, namely, that accents in some cases are nugatory, and in some detrimental. They are nugatory, then, when they are not of sufficient weight to excite attention, and so *teach nothing*. They are detrimental where they tend to introduce confusion into the minds of learners, or lead them to make false quantities. On the other hand, they are useful where they come in aid of quantity; they are useful where they serve to distinguish one word from another, spelt in the same manner, or different inflexions of the same verb. They are also useful where they serve to mark prepositions and adverbs.

1800, *July*.

WENMAN LANGTON.

PHILOSOPHY

AND

NATURAL HISTORY.

I. The Causes of Dreams.

MR. URBAN,

Whitby, Dec. 26, 1753.

DREAMS are one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the human frame; they are by some, perhaps, too little, by others too much, regarded: some are continually torturing them into meaning, and converting them into presages and predictions, whilst others utterly slight them as the capricious workings of a wanton fancy let loose from the restraints of reason and judgment.

There are persons, and those of no inconsiderable note in the republic of letters, who have maintained, that dreams are not the creatures of our own fancy, nor the effects of the operation of our own minds; but the suggestions and infusions of spiritual beings which surround us. They say, that the soul cannot think or act without being conscious of its thinking and acting, and as all the various scenes and adventures which present themselves in sleep seem to us to be external and not our own production, it is therefore impossible that it should. They urge further, that it is not at all likely the soul should take pleasure in tormenting itself, and yet in dreams we are often tossed, or pursued by mad bulls or wild beasts; we fall over precipices, sink in rivers, and are involved in a variety of distresses as exquisitely afflictive for the time they last as if they were real. To the first of these arguments it may be answered, that every thought is not attended with consciousness; every one who has been absent, or in a reverie, knows that we often think without reflecting that we do so; we fall into trains of thought and eagerly pursue them a long time, without attending to the objects about us, or reflecting upon the operations of our

minds; and if we are thus unconscious and unreflecting when we are awake, our unconsciousness in dreaming, when all sensation is suspended, ought not to be wondered at, and can be no objection to the opinion, that dreams are the productions of our own minds. As to the other argument drawn from the improbability of our tormenting ourselves with frightful images, it will have no weight with those who consider how apt our waking thoughts are to rove and wander, and that we are so far from having an absolute command over them, that, in spite of ourselves, they will often run out upon unpleasing, and even horrid and terrible subjects.

Dr. Cheyne, I think, somewhere gives us a less exceptionable rationale of dreaming: he contends, that all dreaming is imperfect and confused thinking, and that there are various degrees of it between sound sleep, and being broad awake; conscious regular thinking, and not thinking at all, being the two extremes, and that in proportion as we incline to waking or to sound sleep, we dream more or less; and our dreams are more wild, extravagant, and confused, or more rational and consistent. And indeed the Dr. seems to have truly explained the phenomenon in every respect, except in supposing the soul not to think or dream at all in sound sleep, for I imagine that in sound sleep the memory and reflective powers of the soul are so locked up, or rather so clouded and impeded by the indisposition and relaxation of the bodily organs, that when we awake we cannot recollect the least traces of the images which the soul amuses herself with at that juncture. Although I cannot be of opinion with the celebrated Des Cartes, that extension is the essence of matter, yet I cannot but agree with him, that thought, if not the essence, is at least essential to spirit, and that the soul always thinks, though she is not always conscious of, nor always reflects upon, her thoughts.

The soul and body being strictly united, mutually affect and act upon each other, and we find that the powers of the soul are more or less vigorous, in proportion as the humours of the body are healthy or morbid. A proper tone and vigour in the corporeal organs is therefore necessary for the perfect exertion and operation of the powers of the soul; but that particular disposition of the solids and fluids which inclines to sleep, impairs this tone, relaxes the whole corporeal system, and superinduces a certain cloudiness, indolence, and inactivity on the soul. The more this soporific disposition prevails, the more the soul is indisposed to thinking, and clogged and impeded in her operations: and

as the exertion of the nobler faculties of the mind requires more vigorous efforts, so we find that these are the powers affected and suspended by sleep; judgment, memory, reflection, and consciousness, gradually ceasing, and the imagination alone being left awake; which active faculty, being indeed the power of thinking and forming ideas, is not to be overpowered or suspended, for the soul must always necessarily think, although she may be so disturbed or restrained by the impressions of matter, as not to be always capable of arranging her thoughts, and reflecting and reasoning upon them. The state of the soul in sleep, therefore, seems to me not to be the weakest proof of her immortality and excellence. Sleep is justly observed to be the image of death, and this temporary death, we see, does not destroy the power of thinking; the soul indeed seems to be deprived of her nobler faculties, but that is only caused by the still subsisting union between her and the sleeping body, which clogs and renders her less active and powerful. But were the death rendered perfect and complete by the dissolution of this union, and the soul quite disincumbered, then we might expect that she would not only exert all her present faculties with inconceivable vigour, but perhaps find new powers to which she is now quite a stranger. Her nobler faculties are impeded by the indisposition of the bodily organs, and suspended by her union with them whilst they are in a dead and torpid state, and rise in perfection and vigour according as her material fetters less incumber and sit lighter upon her.

In this argument, I have considered dreaming in general as the effect of the operation of our own minds, as indeed I believe it is, but I do not absolutely deny that dreams may sometimes be suggested by superior spiritual beings. The properest time for such impressions, or infusions, is certainly when the soul is not conscious, nor under her own command, her powers suspended, and her most vigilant and discerning centinels asleep. The famous Sylla, a man not at all addicted to superstition, gave great credit to dreams; we have instances of several extraordinary dreams in holy writ, and we find all antiquity paid a great regard to them. But such predictive and inspired dreams must be very rare, they must be also rational and consistent, and the impressions strong and lively, therefore easily distinguishable from others, and not needing interpretation; so that those instances should afford no encouragement to a weak and superstitious anxiety and solicitude about every idle fancy that passes through our heads in sleep, nor induce us to pay any regard

to the ridiculous and dreaming rules given by Artemidorus, and other profound personages, for the interpretation of dreams.

1754, Jan.

II. Joy and Grief in Dreams, why superior to reality.

MR. URBAN,

THE following speculations may, perhaps, not be thought unworthy of insertion in a Magazine, which, in the diversity of its contents, appears to embrace every possible subject of research.

That we are frequently affected in a much more lively manner with joy and grief in our dreams than we ever experienced when awake, is a fact sufficiently notorious. There is often a peculiar glow of colouring in our raptures, and in our distresses, in these imaginary scenes, which no power of language can describe, nor any situation in actual life realize. Few persons, I believe, Sir, have ever passed through life without making this reflection. Philosophers, I know, have endeavoured to account for this phenomenon, by supposing, that the soul in sleep, being more abstracted from the body, is more open to those finer sensibilities which the grossness of our material organs either totally extinguishes, or considerably deadens, when we are awake; but I must confess, Sir, the errors, the follies, the absurdities, of dreams are such, that I cannot draw any inference from the superior perfection of the soul in that state, to explain any phenomenon whatever. An intelligent friend, with whom I was conversing on the subject, has given a much more easy, and, as it appears to me, satisfactory, solution of the question. "When we are awake," says he, "we are never entirely occupied with the object before us; we are either looking back on the past, or forward to the future; and our attention is always, in some degree, more or less, diverted from the direct impression of the moment; but in sleep, both memory and foresight are extinguished; we are solely occupied with the object before us; and we receive from that object the full impression it is capable of producing on our minds."

There are not wanting a variety of topics to illustrate and enforce this opinion of my friend. Supposing the natural acuteness of feeling the same, a man possesses sensibility

in proportion as he is abstracted from the cares of life. A man immersed in business or pleasure can never be a man of sensibility. The man of sensibility is, if I may say so, in a state of perpetual dream; he lives and acts in a world of his own creation; and attends to external circumstances little more than as they coincide with his internal system. He feels more than other men on particular subjects, because he feels on other subjects less. The effect of ebriety is to make us forgetful of the past, and careless of the future: in this state we are particularly open to the impression of the moment; those impressions are generally pleasurable, and a state of moderate intoxication is a state of jollity: but we are highly susceptible on these occasions of grief as well as of joy, and the most affecting scenes I ever witnessed have taken place after a free circulation of the bottle. Madness, Sir,—that most dreadful and tremendous calamity which afflicts the human species—madness appears often to arise from excess of sensibility. A man of high and acute feelings is deeply struck with some momentous event; he broods over it day and night; his mind at length becomes totally occupied and possessed with this idea; and we behold him a maniac. I speak, Sir, from observation. That there are “in madness joys which none but madmen know,” has been affirmed by one who was not unacquainted with the sensations of that frightful malady; and I believe him. There appear, too, to be sorrows and anguish in that state, which no sound imagination can conceive.

I will not at present, Mr. Urban, occupy any more of your time. The subject on which I have touched, appears to me as a matter of mere curiosity, extremely interesting; if you and your readers should be of the same opinion, I may possibly resume it on some future occasion.

Yours, &c.

1793, *May*.

T. C.

III. *Effects of Imagination on Pregnant Women disproved.* In a Letter from an eminent Physician to a married Lady.

MADAM,

YOU remember how much I astonished you, the other day, by calling in question the wonderful effects of the imagination in pregnant women. You told me, you had not supposed, till then, there was a man living who doubted so

notorious a fact. You thought it had never been denied, that a fright, longing, and various other passions of the mother, would affect the embryo in such a manner as to produce a deformity, or preternatural appearance, in some one part of its body. At the same time you declared, how happy it would make you, and many other women, could I explode this prejudice, if it were a prejudice, for that you were almost afraid to stir abroad, lest some strange object should injure your offspring; and, in short, that the whole term of your pregnancy was on this account a state of uneasiness and apprehension. In order, therefore, to remove this anxiety, I shall endeavour to demonstrate, that, notwithstanding the almost universality of the opinion, it is one of the superstitions of ancient times, and has no better authority for its support than prescription.

The histories of monstrous births, where the imperfection or deformity is ascribed to some affection of the mother, are numberless; and indeed so authenticated, that an advocate for the power of imagination will triumphantly tell you, facts are stubborn things, and that all reasoning is sophistry, when opposed to facts: but the answer to this kind of argument is, that experience shews it is difficult to ascertain a fact; and that, when we coolly and carefully examine the truth of reputed facts, they are often discovered to have been advanced through hastiness and credulity, and to have been perpetuated through ignorance and servility. It is entirely owing to the fashion of scrutinizing into facts, that the arts and sciences have made a greater progress within these last two centuries, than they had done the preceding two thousand years. Upon this principle, therefore, I shall inquire into the credibility of those histories; and, if I can demonstrate, that they are incredible, you will then grant, that these boasted facts are either innocent delusions, or downright impostures.

The productions of nature, in the several classes both of living and inanimate things, are not all equally perfect. We see in birds, beasts, and plants, every now and then, an irregular or preternatural formation; but when the accident happens to the human species, an opinion has been adopted, that a fright, or some other affection of the mother, in the course of her pregnancy, has wrought the change. They mean, if they mean any thing, that at the instant the mother received the impression, the child was of the natural form, but, by the power of her imagination, the structure of the parts was that moment altered, and assumed the appearance either suddenly or gradually, with which the child

was born. They must conceive, that the infant who is born with a large discolouration on any part of its skin, had, before the discolouration took place, a fair skin: that the child who is born with six toes, had originally but five; and again that the child who is born with one leg, or one arm, had originally two; and so of every other preternatural appearance. whether it be an increase or defect of the parts of the body.

Now, Madam, to shorten my letter as much as possible, I shall single out a case, from the many narratives published in favour of that opinion; and, by exposing the absurdity of this one example, you will infer, that all the other wonderful stories of the same kind, are equally absurd. It has been alleged, that a lady advanced five or six months in her pregnancy, has been so terrified by a beggar's thrusting suddenly the stump of an amputated arm into her coach, that the child, of which she was afterwards brought to bed was born with a stump of an arm, resembling that of the beggar.

Be so good to pause here awhile, and consider what an operation must be performed to work this effect. A child at the term of five or six months, is of a considerable bulk, and the arm itself not small. This arm must drop off by the power of imagination; there must be no blood lost to endanger the life of the child, and the wound must be healed before the birth. Does not the mere stating this proposition expose its ridiculousness? I am almost ashamed to urge any other reasons to demonstrate the folly of it; but shall observe, for argument's sake, that, admitting a limb could drop off by the force of fancy, it still would remain with the mother, till the delivery; the bones, at least, would not putrify and waste away, though the flesh should: but it was never pretended, in cases of this nature, that any part of the limb was found by the midwife; and, what is also worthy of observing, the stumps of all such imperfect limbs have a smooth skin, which plainly evinces they were, from their first formation, of the same figure; for, had there been a wound, there would have been a scar, and scars are very distinguishable from sound skin.

Perhaps you will reply, that, in the instance I have quoted, they committed a mistake who ascribed such an event to such a cause; but that, probably, though the power of imagination cannot work on the large limbs such great effects, still it may on the less. In answer to this supposition, I must inform you, that the histories of this kind stand upon the same foundation, and are equally well attested with any of the others, which may appear less marvellous;

and if the evidence of the one be given up, the evidence for the rest will fall to the ground. Besides, Madam, a philosopher will instruct you, that what seems in your eyes little and simple, is as wonderful, in its organization, as things of a larger scale; that to add a sixth finger, or a sixth toe, to a child, is as great an instance of a miraculous power, as to add two or three legs, or two or three arms: therefore you may be assured, all the metamorphoses said to be wrought during pregnancy, are equally practicable, and equally true.

I believe there is no defect more frequent than that of the hare-lip, and it seldom happens that a woman who has a child with that deformity, does not endeavour to recollect she either longed for a hare, or was frightened by a hare, or saw somebody with a hare-lip, no matter which. A woman, already prepossessed there must have been some such cause, is not long at a loss; her memory, or her prejudice, soon furnishes her with a fact, and the instance of this child is added to the long catalogue of forgeries and false facts.

Discolourations, or spots on the skin, another very common appearance, are fondly resembled, by some people, to certain fruits. I do not mean to enter particularly into the consideration of this article; and should not have mentioned it, but to expose the great propensity there is in the world to uphold one piece of superstition by another. You must have heard, how much it is believed, that these spots grow vivid, as the respective fruits they are said to resemble, ripen; and afterwards fade away during the winter season: now though the assertion be false, and the falshood very palpable, yet credulity has hitherto prevailed over truth, at least amongst the vulgar.

The preternatural configuration of the parts of the body, is a much more frequent phenomenon than the generality of mankind imagine: the deviations on the external parts only, are the objects of their contemplation; but anatomists know, that the internal parts are likewise subject to the same disorders. To take one example out of a hundred: it has been observed, in the dissection of a body, that, instead of two kidneys, nature has only bestowed one, which she has enlarged, and placed upon the middle of the back-bone. In this instance, where the variation was imperceptible, till the death of the subject, I will be bold to say, that the mother never suggested any frights or longings as the cause of that effect; and yet the case was as extraordinary as where that plea is advanced. Again, it happens that these preternatural productions occur equally amongst all ranks of people, and in every part of the world, as much amongst

those who have never pretended to assign a cause, as amongst the credulous, who never want one. If then we grant it to be sometimes an event of nature, why should we doubt that it is not always so? Do we not smile, when Sir Roger de Coverly seriously says, in the Spectator, that he does not believe Moll White had any hand in the high wind, which blew down one end of his barn? Storms, we know, are events that must and do arise in the ordinary course of nature; and therefore we laugh when weak people suppose they are sometimes raised by witches and conjurers.— Give me leave to say, that it is equally unphilosophical to admit, that irregularities in the formation of a child, are sometimes events in the ordinary course of nature, and at other times are brought about by a cause so very disproportionate to the effect: I may justly say disproportionate, since a knife and a saw, or a hammer and chisel, seem requisite for the operation, in some of the instances I have alluded to.

I have before hinted, that not only in the animal, but also in the vegetable world, there is a variety of preternatural productions; which circumstance alone should teach us, that whatever be the appearance, that appearance took its rise in the very moment of its formation; since it cannot be presumed, that plants are actuated by any perception or fancy, as women are said to be: but lest you should tell me, this is an unfair parallel, and that you do not understand the analogy betwixt vegetables and animals, I shall beg leave to illustrate what I have laid down by another consideration.

Those who have been attentive to their poultry will inform you, that chickens are as liable to a preternatural structure of their organs, as children: this proposition being granted, let us proceed a little farther into the inquiry.— The egg, in order to be hatched, is placed under the hen, the heat of whose body gives motion to the fluids which nourish the chick, till it becomes sufficiently strong to break the shell, when it is produced with a claw extraordinary, or any other preternatural appearance, to which chickens are liable. Now, in this case, the extraordinary claw, if we take this instance for our argument, must either have been formed in the moment of conception, or been added at some period afterwards, when we suppose the hen to have been under the influence of some powerful imagination. Which supposition then do you admit? If you grant that the chick was originally framed in this shape, it follows, from the rules of analogy, that all preternatural births have the same cause:

if it was not, the fancy of the hen must have operated through the shell to work the effect. I flatter myself, however, that, prone as we are to delight and believe in the marvellous, this is too marvellous and absurd a notion to gain much credit from a woman of your good sense. But, Madam, an anatomist will tell you, that, considering the nature of the communication betwixt the mother and the embryo, it seems equally incomprehensible to him, that an embryo should receive an impression from the fancy of the mother, through such a labyrinth of vessels, as that a chick should, through the pores of the egg-shell.

If after what I have here said upon the subject of the hen and the egg, you have still a secret persuasion, that the hen may (in some wonderful manner, you do not know how) whilst she is sitting, affect the chick in the egg, so as to alter its frame, know, for a certainty, that eggs hatched in dunghills, stoves, and ovens, produce as many monstrous births, as those which are hatched by hens; which, I should imagine, proves irrefragably, that the chick is produced in the very shape in which it was formed.

I hope, from the light in which I have placed this popular piece of superstition, you are now convinced it has not the least foundation in truth. It is not more than a century since some men of learning gave credit to the efficacy of sympathetic medicines; they believed that sympathetic medicines, like other charms, communicated their virtues to patients at a distance. Learning and good sense have at length utterly banished this visionary conceit; and I do not doubt but, in another century, the prejudice I have been here combating, will meet with the same contempt. Men of letters do even now embrace the doctrine I inculcate; and it is to be hoped, that in a short time, it will be the opinion of the common people.

1764, Oct.

I am, Madam, &c.

IV. *Solution of Optical Phenomena.* Part of a Letter from James Logan, of Philadelphia, to Sir Hans Sloane. From an original MS. communicated by Peter Collinson, Esq.

IT may perhaps be needless now to add any thing in confirmation of Doctor Wallis's solution of the sun and moon appearing so much larger at rising and setting, than in a greater altitude; though some have gone on very absurdly, and still go on, to account for it from vapours; which I remember was given me in my youth for the true cause of it.

It is true, indeed, that it is these vapours in the atmosphere alone, that make those bodies, when very near to the horizon, appear in a spheroidical form, by refracting, and thereby raising (to sight) the lower limb more than the upper, yet these can be no cause of the other. Sun or moon, each subtending about half a degree, appears in the meridian of the breadth of eight or ten inches, to some eyes more, and to others less, and in the horizon to be two or three feet, more or less, according to the extent of ground they are seen over.

But if one has an opportunity, as I have here frequently had, of seeing the sun rise or set over a small eminence at the distance of a mile or two, with tall trees standing on it pretty close, as is usual in woods, without underwood, his body will then appear to be ten or twelve feet in breadth, according to the distance and circumstances of the trees he is seen through; and where there has been some thin underwood, or a few saplings, I have observed that the sun setting red, has appeared through them like a large extensive flame, as if some house was on fire beyond them.

Now the reason of this is obvious, viz. that being well acquainted with trees, the ideas of the space they take up are in a manner fixed; and as one of those trees subtends an angle at the eye, perhaps not exceeding two or three seconds, and would scarcely be distinguishable, were it not for the strong light behind them, the sun's diameter of above thirty inches, takes in several of them, and therefore will naturally be judged vastly larger. Hence it is evident, that those bodies appear greater or less, according to the objects interposed, or taken in by the eye on viewing them, and to this only is this phenomenon to be imputed.

J. LOGAN.

Part of a second Letter from James Logan, to Sir Hans Sloane.

I OBSERVED the ingenious gentleman, Stephen Hales, in his *Vegetable Statics*, to mention that phenomenon of the streaks or darts of lightning in thunder storms appearing crooked and angular (I do not remember his words) as a thing unaccounted for, and therefore guessed at a solution of it; but if I mistake not, I sometime since discovered the true one, which was this:—Having a sash window, glazed with bad or waved glass, and sitting about twelve feet distance from it, one of my people was carrying by that window, at some distance from it, a long lath on his shoulder, which, through that glass, appeared to my view exactly in the form

that those streaks of lightning are seen, and as thunder is generally pictured in the hand of Jupiter. And any one with such wavy glass may very easily make the like experiment.

Now it is evident that the clouds are generally distinct collections of vapours like fleeces, and therefore that the rays of light through them, must pass through very different densities, and accordingly suffer very great refractions, as great at least as could be caused by one thin plate of glass, which, notwithstanding, will very fully produce the same phenomenon. From thence, therefore, undoubtedly that appearance must arise; for it is most highly absurd to imagine that fire darted with such a rapidity, can from any assignable cause deviate in fact from a right line in the manner it appears to us; and this, if duly considered, may probably be found a plenary solution.

1767, Nov.

J. LOGAN.

V. A surprising Accident which happened to a Woman at Cesena.

THIS woman was 62 years of age, and had been used to wash and rub herself every day with spirit of camphire, to prevent colds and coughs. On the 14th of March, 1731, in the evening, she went up to her room without any unusual symptom, only that she seemed somewhat melancholy. In the morning she was found near her bed burnt to ashes, all but her shin-bones and feet, and three fingers of one hand: the ashes were clammy, and stunk intolerably. The walls of the room, the bed and other furniture, were covered with a fine but moist dust, which had penetrated into the chamber above it. The ceiling was almost covered with a sort of moisture of a dark yellow colour, which gave a very offensive smell. Those parts of the body that remained were of a blackish hue; nothing else in the room was consumed; only the tallow of two candles quite melted, but the wick not burnt: the blackish hue of the remains of the body, the consumption of the other parts, and their reduction to ashes, were evident proofs of a fire: yet common fire can hardly reduce so large a body to ashes; for it has often appeared, that in great conflagrations, the bodies have been dried, scorched, and somewhat burnt in the external parts, but not entirely consumed. It is likewise certain, that common fire would have taken hold of the bed, the chamber, and

even the whole house: besides, there was neither fire nor light in the chamber; and the serenity of the air left no room to suspect, that there was any lightning that could produce such an accident; because there was not the least hole found in the sides of the chamber. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude, that this poor woman was consumed by a fire that kindled within her own body, proceeding from the oily particles of the spirits, excited by chafing and the heat of her constitution. These are the thoughts of Signior Maffei and Father Bellivaga, which are corroborated by the examples of powder magazines; for the exhalations from the powder, being put into a violent motion by some external cause, have sometimes blown up the magazine, without the help of any apparent fire. A human body hath likewise in it some oleous and saline particles, capable of producing a fire: we even find, that the sweat of some people smells like brimstone. Phosphoruses are made of urine, which partly kindle of themselves: therefore, if to these particles of the body, brandy and camphire be added, the two ingredients which compose the spirit of camphire, their particles, especially by the means of chafing, cannot but cause a violent motion in the particles of the blood and other juices, which will produce a vehement attrition or rubbing against each other. Such attrition is capable of producing fire even in cold bodies, as appears by the striking of a piece of steel upon a flint, and the rubbing of two sticks against each other: the sun draws every day from bodies, not the most combustible, vapours which produce fire, when pent up in a narrow compass. If we cause a quantity of camphire to evaporate in a close chamber till it is filled with the vapour, and then enter it with a lighted torch, the vapour takes fire at once, and causes a flash like that of lightning: besides all this, the fermentation of the juices in the woman's body, may have contributed something to the effect; for a flame is often produced by the mixture and fermentation of certain liquors. The reason why the shin-bones and the feet were not burnt, may be this, that she did not chafe those parts with the spirits, or at least not so much as the other parts of the body; and possibly, she never used the three fingers, that remained unconsumed, in chafing. The oiliness of the ashes, it is likely, proceeded from the fat of the body. As the fire was kindled at once in the veins and most minute vessels of the body, we may conclude, that it consumed it in a moment; which sudden effects could not have been produced by other fires, that were not so inclosed in the body. Some effect of this fire

was found in the upper rooms, because such a sudden heat flies chiefly upward; which was likewise the cause that the floor of her chamber escaped being burnt, and that none of the furniture was touched; for a piece of paper may be drawn suddenly through the greatest flame without being set on fire.

1736, Nov.

VI. Account of Margaret Cutting, of Wickham Market, in Suffolk, who spoke readily and intelligibly, though she had lost her Tongue.

MR. BODDINGTON, Turkey merchant, at Ipswich, communicated this extraordinary fact to the Royal Society, July 1, 1742, who thought it worthy of an exact inquiry, which was made by Mr. Boddington, the Rev. Mr. Norcutt, and Mr. Hammond, a skilful anatomist, who attested the following circumstances.

April 9, 1742, we saw Margaret Cutting, who informed us she was about 24 years old; that when she was but 4 years of age a cancer appeared on the upper part of her tongue, which soon eat its way to the root. Mr. Scotchmore, surgeon, at Saxmundham, used the best means he could for her relief, but pronounced the case incurable. One day, when he was injecting some medicine into her mouth, her tongue dropped out; the girl immediately saying, to their great surprise, *Don't be frightened, Mamma! 'twill grow again.* In a quarter of a year afterwards she was quite cured. In examining her mouth we found not the least appearance of any tongue remaining, nor any uvula; but we observed a fleshy excrescence under the left jaw, extending itself almost to the place where the uvula should be, about a finger broad. This did not appear till some years after the cure; it is not moveable. The passage to the throat, where the uvula should be, is circular, and will admit a small nutmeg. She performed the swallowing of solids and liquids as well as we could; she discoursed as well as other persons do, but with a little tone through the nose. Letters and syllables she pronounced very articulately, and vowels perfectly; as also those consonants that require most the help of the tongue, d, l, t, r, n. She read to us in a book very distinctly, and sung very prettily. What is still more wonderful, notwithstanding her loss of this organ, she distinguishes all tastes very nicely. To this certificate may be added the attestation

of Mr. Dennis, tobacconist, in Aldersgate Street, who has known her many years, and upon frequent inspections had found the case, before recited, true. Some few instances of the like nature have occurred, particularly one related by Tulpius, of a man he himself examined, who having had his tongue cut out by the Turks, after three years could speak distinctly.

1743, Jan.

To the Author of the Ipswich Journal.

SIR,

Harwich, March 9, 1743.

I HAVE seen in your paper of the 15th of January, the surprising account of Margaret Cutting, of Wickham Market, in Suffolk, who, though she entirely lost her tongue, when she was but four years of age, by a cancer, yet retained her speech; which has likewise been set forth in a letter to the Royal Society, who have given so much credit to it as to publish it among their Philosophical Transactions.

This extraordinary account excited my curiosity to see Margaret Cutting, and upon examining her mouth, I found part of a tongue, about an inch and a half in length, and in breadth about half an inch. It is seemingly confined by a small part of the *frænum*; the fore-part of the tongue is very thin, but gradually thickens towards the *oesophagus*; it lies in an oblique manner, covering part of the *salival glands* on the left side; those on the right, for want of the common pressure of the tongue, appear large and bulbous. Upon opening the mouth wide, the tongue may be plainly observed to move backward, and as she shuts her mouth, to come forward; and upon introducing my finger into her mouth near the *oesophagus*, I could move it either way easily. Her speech is very intelligible, but her voice low, and she speaks a little through the nose, which is owing to the want of the *uvula* to help the articulation.

I have had frequent opportunities of inspecting the mouths of several persons, who were taken prisoners by the Algerines and Turks, who had their tongues cut out by those barbarous people. One of them, aged 33 years, whom I saw some months since, wrote a good hand, and by that means answered my questions. He informed me that he could not pronounce a syllable, nor make any articulate sound; though he had often observed, that those who suffered that treatment when they were very young, were some years after able to speak, and that their tongues might be observed to grow in proportion to the other parts of the body; but

that, if they were adults, or full-grown persons at the time of the operation, they were never able to utter a syllable. The truth of his observation was confirmed to me by the two following cases. Patrick Strainer and his son-in-law came to Harwich, in their way to Holland, the third of this month. I made it my business to see and examine them; the father told me, he had his tongue cut out by the Algerines, when he was seven years of age, and that some time after he was able to pronounce many syllables, and can now speak most words tolerably well, and said, his tongue was grown at least half an inch. The son-in-law, who is about thirty years of age, was taken by the Turks, who cut out his tongue; he cannot pronounce a syllable, nor is his tongue grown at all since the operation, which was more than five years ago.

I need not enlarge upon the reason of the difference of these cases, which will be easily understood by the skilful anatomist, and such who are acquainted with the nature of accretion and nutrition.

Yours, &c.

1743, *March.*

T. O.

VII. Surprising Instances of the Effects of Music in acute Fevers, and for the cure of the bite of the Tarantula.

SIR,

AS the effects of music in the cure of several disorders are worthy the curiosity of the public, and may on some occasions be of great use to mankind; it will not be unentertaining to your readers to see some well attested instances of this kind upon which the learned may comment at their leisure, and give us some explanation of the *Phenomena*, that must unavoidably surprise those who are less acquainted with the laws of nature.

The first of these instances is attested by M. Dodart,* whose skill is too well known to be imposed upon, and whose testimony is otherwise unquestionable. It is as follows. A famous master of music, an eminent composer, was taken ill of a fever which daily increased, till the seventh day, when he fell into a high delirium almost without any

* Hist. de l'Academie Royale des Sciences. An. 1707, p. 8.

intermission, attended with cries, tears, trembling, and continual watchings. On the third day of this delirium, by one of those instincts, which teach animals when sick the herbs proper for their cure, he desired to hear a little concert in his room. His physician with some difficulty consented to indulge him in his request. The Cantatas of M. Bernier were sung to him. On hearing the first notes, his aspect grew calm, his eyes lost their wildness, his convulsions quite left him, he shed tears of pleasure, and shewed, that music had never been so charming to him as then. He had no feverish symptoms during the whole time of the performance; but as soon as it ceased, he felt a relapse. It was therefore thought proper to continue the use of a remedy, the success of which had been so visibly happy, though unexpected, and by the use of which his fever and delirium still abated during the operation; so that music became so necessary to the patient, that at night he made a kinswoman who attended him, sing and dance, though her concern made her yield with pain to oblige him. One night when only his nurse sat up with him, he obliged her to sing an old ballad, which gave him some ease. To conclude, in ten days by the continuance of music he grew entirely well, without any other remedies but two bleedings in the foot, the last of which was followed by a strong purge.

The second instance of the extraordinary effect of music in the cure of this disease, is a fact related by M. Fontenelle,* who had it from M. de Mandajor, mayor of Alais in Languedoc, a gentleman of sense and merit. A dancing-master of that town, during the carnival of 1708, had so over-heated himself with the agreeable duties of his profession, that he fell sick the beginning of Lent of a violent fever, which the fourth or fifth day turned to a lethargy and held him a long time. When this symptom disappeared he grew sullenly mad, making constant efforts to leap out of bed, threatening with his head and countenance those who held him or stood about him, and obstinately refusing to speak or take any remedies offered him. M. de Mandajor, who saw him in this condition, took a fancy, that perhaps music might compose his disordered imagination, and proposed it to his physician, who did not dislike the thing, though he objected to the ridicule that might attend such a remedy, especially if the patient should chance to die in the operation. A friend of the dancing-master, who was less scrupulous, and played

* Hist. de l'Academie Royale des Sciences. An. 1708, p. 27.

a good fiddle, took up that of his sick friend, which lay in the room, and began to play the tunes he knew he loved best. The company immediately took him to be the greater madman of the two, and began to chide him. But the sick man suddenly sat up, like one agreeably surprised, and by his motion endeavoured to keep time with the airs, but as he was still held by his arms he could only shew his satisfaction by his head. However, those who held him finding him no way furious, by degrees gave him more liberty, till in a quarter of an hour he fell fast asleep, and had a crisis, which put him past all danger.

Let us now see a third example of the force of music, which surpasses the two former in the surprising manner of its effects. Few persons are strangers to the Tarantula,* and the terrible symptoms that attend its bite; but the extraordinary remedy used to alleviate and dispel them is not perhaps so well known. This remedy is music, applied in the manner we shall describe.

Soon after the bite of the Tarantula, which causes a sensation like the stinging of a bee or ant, the patient finds in the part a very sharp pain, which in some hours is followed with a tumour. In a short time he grows melancholy, with a difficulty of breathing, faint pulse, and wild look, and if not speedily assisted he loses all sense and motion, and dies. Such are the symptoms of this poison. The best and surest means of cure yet discovered are as follow.

When the patient is arrived at the last symptoms of being insensible or motionless, a musician tries different tunes, till he hits on one whose modulation and notes suit the person affected, so that he begins to stir, to move his fingers in cadence, next his feet, and at last recovers his limbs, so as to rise and dance to the air, still continuing the exercise with greater violence. There are some patients will dance thus for six hours without intermission. When exhausted with this fatigue the patient is put to bed, and after reposing awhile, he is awaked with the same tune to renew his dancing, continuing this method for some days (often five, six,

* The Tarantula is a large spider, hairy and about the size of an acorn, its colour various, with 8 eyes and 8 feet; from its mouth arise 2 horns or trunks, a little crooked, the tips exceedingly sharp, through which it conveys its poison; it is found near Taranto, whence it takes its name, and is to be met with in other parts of Italy, especially the Isle of Corsica. Those of Apulia are the most venomous, and in general those of the plains are most dangerous, because the air of Calabria is hotter in the plains than in the mountains. See *Hist. de l'Academ. Royale des Sciences*. An. 1702, p. 20.

or seven) till the patient finds he has no more inclination to dance, which is a sign of his cure. For while the effect of the poison lasts, he would, if left to himself, dance without intermission till he killed himself. As soon as he finds himself wearied he recovers by degrees his senses and judgment, and like one awakened from a deep sleep remembers nothing of what had passed in his delirium.

Sometimes the patient is cured on his coming out of the first fit. But if otherwise, he still is subject to a deep melancholy and forgetfulness. He shuns company, loves solitude, and if not carefully watched, is apt to drown himself. An aversion to the colours of black and blue, and a fondness for white, red, and green, are some of the odd symptoms of this distemper. If the patient dies not in the interval, the fit returns about the same time twelvemonth the bite happened, and music and dancing must again be called in. Some have had these regular relapses for 20 or 30 years together. Each patient has his particular specific tune; but in general, those found effectual are brisk and lively. These particulars are well attested, and were confirmed to the Royal Academy not only by M. Geoffroy, who had informed himself on the spot; but by the letters of a father jesuit of Toulon, to P. Gouye, in which he relates the cure of an Italian soldier bit by a Tarantula, whom he had seen dance for several days successively.

These facts may explain the case of Saul, who found his indisposition relieved by the music of David; a case which has nothing in it more wonderful or extraordinary than those related. I even think, that the effects of music on the disordered brain of a man bit with the Tarantula, has something more inexplicable, more incomprehensibly strange in it. Some philosophers have attempted to account for these phenomena; but the secret causes of them are too concealed for us to discover. O Nature! Nature! how mysterious and inscrutable are thy ways! How feeble and bounded our knowledge!

As music has, in the above-mentioned instances, been found to be a very successful remedy in the several disorders in which it was applied; so it is not perhaps improbable, that it might be found efficacious in other disorders, such as the bite of a mad dog; especially if a time could be hit upon to make the patient dance and sweat. Since the evacuation in this manner of the inflammatory fluid is, according to Dr. Mead, the cause of cure in the bite of the Tarantula, the vibrations made on the nerves by tunes rightly modelled, operating as really on the nerves, as the *Imperium Voluntatis* can do. And M. Geoffroy says, 'the poisonous juice

giving the nerves a degree of tension equal to that of some strings of an instrument, puts the nerves in unison to certain tones; and after being agitated by the undulations and vibrations of the air proper to those tones, obliges them to shake.'

1743, *Aug.*

*A genuine Letter from an Italian Gentleman, concerning the
Bite of the Tarantula.*

SIR,

ACCORDING to your desire I send you an account of the effect which the bite of a Tarantula has upon the human body. I shall only give a distinct detail of all the circumstances that I have seen, having once been instrumental to the cure of a poor ploughman that was bit by that insect.

I will not undertake to give you any account of the Tarantula itself, being sure you are perfectly well acquainted with it: I shall only tell you what has happened in my country, at a small village, called La Torre della Annunziata, about ten miles from Naples, where I was at the time the affair I am going to relate happened.

It was in the month of October, a season of the year when all the students in Naples, that have any relations in the country, have leave to visit them. I was one of those that enjoyed the privilege of visiting the place of my nativity; and as I was then studying music in the college of Naples, whenever I went into the country, I brought my violin with me.

It happened one day that a poor man was taken ill in the street, and it was soon known to be the effect of the Tarantula, because the country people have some undoubted signs to know it by, and particularly (they say) that the Tarantula bites on the tip or under-tip of the ear, because it generally bites those who sleep on the ground, and the wounded part becomes black, which happens three days afterwards, exactly at the hour of the hurt received; and they further assert, that if no person was to undertake to cure him who had been bitten, he would feel the effect of it every day at the same time for the space of three or four hours, till it would throw him into such madness as to destroy him in about a month; some (they say) have not died till three months after they have been bit; but this I cannot believe, because it never happens that any are suffered to die by such distemper, the priest of the parish being obliged to play on the fiddle in order to cure them; and none have been known, in the memory of man, to have died of it: but to proceed.

A poor man was taken ill in the street (as I said before) and as the priest was out of the way, several gentlemen begged

of me to play to the poor fellow. I could not help going, without offending a number of friends; when I was there I saw a man stretched on the ground, who seemed as if he was just going to expire. The people at the sight of me cried out—*play—play the Tarantella*: (which is a tune made use of on such occasions.) It happened that I had never heard that tune, consequently could not play it. I asked what sort of tune it was? They answered, that it was a kind of jig. I tried several jigs, but to no purpose, for the man was as motionless as before. The people still called out for the Tarantella; I told them I could not play it, but if any would sing it, I would learn it immediately: an old woman presented herself to me to do the good office, who sung it in such an unintelligible sound of voice, that I could not form an idea of it; but another woman came, and helped me to learn it; which I did in about ten minutes time, it being very short: but you must observe that while I was learning the tune, and happened to feel the strain of the first two bars, the man began to move accordingly, and got up as quick as lightning, and seemed as if he had been awakened by some frightful vision, and wildly stared about, still moving every joint of his body; but as I had not as yet learned the whole tune, I left off playing, not thinking that it would have any effect on the man. But the instant I left off playing, the man fell down, and cried out very loud, and distorted his face, legs, arms, and every other part of his body, scraped the earth with his hands, and was in such contortions, as clearly indicated him to be in miserable agonies. I was frightened out of my wits, and made all the haste I could to learn the rest of the tune; which done, I played near him, I mean about four yards from him. The instant he heard me, he rose up as he did before, and danced as hard as any man could do; his dancing was very wild; he kept perfect time in the dance, but had neither rule nor manner, only jumped and ran to and fro, made very comical postures, something like the Chinese dances we have sometimes seen on the stage, and otherwise every thing was very wild of what he did; he sweated all over, and then the people cried out *faster—faster*, meaning that I should give a quicker motion to the tune, which I did so quick, that I could hardly keep up playing, and the man still danced in time. I was very much fatigued, and though I had several persons behind me, some drying the sweat from my face, others blowing with a fan to keep me cool, (for it was about two o'clock in the afternoon) others distancing the people that they might not throng about me; and yet notwithstanding all this, I suffered long patience to keep up such a long time, for I

played, without exaggeration, above two hours, without the least interval.

When the man had danced about an hour, the people gave him a naked sword, which he applied with the point in the palm of his hands, and made the sword jump from one hand into the other, which sword he held in equilibrium, and he still kept dancing. The people knew he wanted a sword, because a little before he got it, he scratched his hands very hard, as if he would tear the flesh from them.

When he had well pricked his hands, he got hold of the sword by the handle, and pricked also the upper part of his feet, and in about five minutes time his hands and feet bled in great abundance. He continued to use the sword for about a quarter of an hour, sometimes pricking his hands, and sometimes his feet with little or no intermission; and then he threw it away and kept on dancing.

When he was quite spent with fatigue, his motion began to grow slower, but the people begged of me to keep up the same time, and as he could not dance accordingly, he only moved his body and kept time: at last after two hours dancing, he fell down quite motionless, and I gave over playing. The people took him up and carried him into a house, and put him into a large tub of tepid water, and a surgeon bled him; while he was bathing, he was let blood in both his hands and feet, and they took from him a great quantity of blood: after that they tied up the orifices, put him in a bed, and gave him a cordial, which they forced down, because the man kept his teeth very close. About five minutes after, he sweated a great deal, and fell asleep, which he did for five or six hours. When he awoke he was perfectly well, only weak from the great loss of blood he had sustained; and four days after he was entirely recovered, for I saw him walking in the streets; and what is remarkable, he hardly remembered any thing of what had happened to him, and has never felt any pain since.

This is what I know of the Tarantula, which I hope will satisfy your curiosity, and as you are a great philosopher may philosophize as you please. I need not make any apology for my bad writing, you must excuse it, considering that it was only to obey your commands: if you have any other, you may dispose of,

Sir, your most humble Servant,

1753, Sept.

STEPHEN STORACE.

[*** Our readers will make a proper allowance for the style of the above letter, as it was written by a foreigner. A few sentences, which were almost unintelligible, we have taken the liberty to correct. E.]

MR. URBAN,

WE were lately presented in one of the public papers with a letter from Doctor Cirillo, Professor of Natural History in the University of Naples, to Doctor Watson, F.R.S. in which the learned Professor refutes the common opinion, that the bite of the Tarantula is only to be cured by music. I remember to have formerly read, with a good deal of surprise, the histories of several persons, said to be so cured, in the works of Baglivi, the celebrated Italian Physician, mentioned by the Professor; one of which, if I mistake not, (for I have not the author by me) is to the following purport. The person affected was seized immediately after the bite with a heaviness and stupor, and in a short time fell down in a state of insensibility. Upon this, some of the people about him procured the first musical instrument that was at hand, and played several tunes upon it for some time without effect; till at last they luckily hit upon one, which struck the man's fancy, and raised him upon his legs; when he instantly began dancing to it, and continued to do so till he sunk down quite covered with sweat, and overpowered with fatigue. He repeated the same exercise three or four days successively, with the same violence; by which means he at length got the better of the poison, and was restored to perfect health.

The account which Baglivi gives of the manner in which this very extraordinary remedy operates, is, if I remember right, something like this. He supposes, that the quick motion impressed by the impulse of the musical sounds on the air, and from thence communicated through the ear to the blood and animal spirits, gradually dissolves the coagulation which the poison had produced in them; so that by means of these repeated vibrations the humours recover their original state of fluidity, and now, circulating duly through the fine tubes of the vessels that were before obstructed, enable them to perform again their several functions. Thus the patient regains the use of sense and motion, is roused from his lethargy, springs up upon his feet, and continues to exercise them, till the great profusion of sweat, which the exercise occasions, eliminates out of the mass of blood all the remaining virulence of the poison. Now though Baglivi's reasoning, how ingenious soever, is ill-founded, as he was certainly imposed upon with regard to the facts on which it is built; yet it is equally certain, that this doctrine of the cure of disorders being effected by the powers of music, is no novel notion. We find it mentioned by Macrobius,

who, in enumerating the several virtues ascribed to music, reckons this also among the rest: *CORPORUM QUOQUE MORBIS MEDETUR*. [In *Somn. Scip. lib. ii. cap. 3.*] And Gellius had, before him, remarked the great efficacy of it in giving ease, particularly in the *SCIATICA*; adding, that Democritus speaks of it as specific in most other diseases. Nay, he mentions a case perfectly similar to that under consideration, namely, the bite of the Viper; which he observes from Theophrastus, finds an effectual remedy in the skilful harmonious touches of the musician: and concludes with remarking, “So intimate is the union between the bodies and the minds of men, and consequently between the disorders and the remedies, by which each is affected.”—[*TANTA PRORSUS EST AFFINITAS CORPORIBUS HOMINUM MENTIBUSQUE, ET PROPTEREA QUOQUE VITIIS AUT MEDELIS ANIMORUM ET CORPORUM*. Gell. *Noct. Attic. lib. iv. cap. 13.*]

I am, &c.

1771, Oct.

Q.

VIII. Dissertation on a Poison of the Ancients called Bull's Blood.

MR. URBAN,

I WAS in great hopes of meeting with something, in Dr. Mead's book about the poisons of the ancients, on the *Cicuta* given to criminals at Athens,* the *Bull's blood*, &c. but I am disappointed, and I lament the disappointment, because I labour under some difficulty in regard to the *Bull's blood*.

Some have fancied that by *Ταυρος αίμα*, or *Bull's blood*, some drug might be meant, just as at this day a certain gum is called *sanguis draconis*, or Dragon's blood; but that cannot be the case, since in some of the instances of persons dying by this means, express mention is made of their receiving the blood directly from the victim.

The persons recorded to have killed themselves by drinking *Bull's blood*, are Æson in Apollodori *Lib. I. c. 9. s. 27.* Midas, king of Phrygia; Strabo, *Lib. I.* Hannibal; Plutarch, in *Flaminio*: and Themistocles, according to various authors.

We are bound to understand those passages literally, for the reason given above; and the question is, whether *Bull's*

* Plato in *Phædone*.

blood be in fact a poison, that the drinking of it should bring on immediate death. I, for my part, apprehend not, and I support my opinion in this manner.

In the first place, it is pretended by Curcellæus, and other authors who think Christians are at this time bound to abstain from eating of blood, that one reason of the prohibition might be, because it is not wholesome. But there is no great force in this argument, since, as far as I can observe, those who eat blood in the moderate way that Christians do, are as long lived and as healthy as either Greeks or Jews that abstain. However, neither Curcellæus, nor his friends, ever pretend that blood has any thing in it of the nature of poison.

2dly, I have heard it said of the Rapparees in Ireland, that it is an usual custom with them to bleed the black cattle there in the night-time, and to carry off the blood for their use. No doubt but they take the blood from bulls, as well as the other cattle, cows and oxen; and yet we do not hear that this blood does them any harm.

To come to facts, I do not find any instance of people dying this way among the Romans, and as to those Greeks and Barbarians abovementioned, Æson and Midas, they lived in the fabulous ages, and we cannot, I am of opinion, build much upon what is delivered by authors concerning them. Thucydides was aware of the report, that Themistocles had killed himself by poison, λεγουσι δε τινες και εκουσιον φαρμακω αποθανειν αυτον, *quidam autem aiunt eum sponte etiam hausto veneno secessisse*, and the Scholiast very rightly explains φαρμακω by αιματι ταυρειω; but the author himself declares, that he died of some distemper, νοσησας δε τελευτα του βιον, *morbo autem corruptus vita est defunctus*, and in this, Thucydides is followed by Corn. Nepos, upon mature judgment; ‘*De cujus [Themistoclis] morte multimodis apud plerosque scriptum est. Sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem autorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesiæ morbo mortuum, neque negat fuisse famam, venenum sua sponte sumpsisse,*’ &c. Gebhardus has detected, in his note on this place, the foundation of the report of his dying by drinking *Bull's blood*, namely, that it was owing to a mistaken passage in a play of Sophocles, cited by the Scholiast of Aristophanes, where the Scholiast himself remarks, that those authors err who interpret those lines of the death of Themistocles. The case of this great man, methinks, is clear enough; to wit, that he did not die by means of *Bull's blood*, and Cicero accordingly treats this matter as a mere fable, espoused by the Rhetoricians (*see him in Brutus, c. xi.*) As to Hannibal,

the case is yet more improbable; he is said to have carried poison about with him in a ring, in order to be ready whenever he should want it, and that he accordingly made use of it in Bithynia. It is moreover recorded, that Prusias, King of Bithynia, invested the house Hannibal was in, by which means, though the Carthaginians had contrived several secret passages of escape, yet it was out of his power: judge then what opportunity he could have of making use of *Bull's blood*? In short, the best authors reckon he died by direct poison. See *Corn. Nepos* in Hannibal, and the Annotations.

Something has been said above in relation to the supposed unwholesomeness of blood; here I would remark, that to make *Bull's blood* deleterious, and to partake of the nature of poison, they suppose it must be *fresh drawn*. *Taurinus quidem [sanguis] recens inter venena est.* Plin. xxviii. 9. This is very strange, for, in reason, it must be most innocent when fresh drawn, since it is then most fluid, most florid, and the least grumous or coagulated; however, the *suicides* above drank it *fresh drawn*, and it produced instant death, as the authors believe, for pray observe the words of Val. Maximus, speaking of Themistocles, l. v. c. 6. *Themistocles autem,——instituto sacrificio, exceptum patera tauri sanguinem hausit, et ante ipsam aram, quasi quædam pietatis clara victima, concidit.* Surely it is very difficult to believe, that *Bull's blood* should occasion such immediate death. It is to me very plain it will not, for Pliny having observed, as above, that it is poison when *new drawn*, adds but not at Ægira, ‘*ibi enim sacerdos terræ vaticinatura tauri sanguinem bibit priusquam in specum descendat:*’ but how ridiculous is it, that it should be a deadly poison, in one place, and not in another? Certainly, if it might be taken safely at Ægira, it might be every where.

It is pretended, that the noxious quality of *Bull's blood* is owing to its coagulating so soon and hardening, ‘*Taurorum [sanguis] celerrime coit atque durescit, ideo pestifer potum maxime.*’ Plin. xi. 38. But this is very inconsistent with what the author has delivered above, of its being most hurtful when *first drawn*, neither can I think it will coagulate and harden so soon in a human stomach, as to bring on immediate death, as is implied in these cases; however, Sir, I would recommend it to gentlemen, who have a good hand at making experiments, to try the effects of *new drawn Bull's blood*, which I apprehend may be easily done, by transfusing it into some living animals: this, I imagine, must be the shortest way of penetrating either into the malignant or

salutary qualities of it, and consequently of determining this question; since, from its effects on other animals, much may be inferred concerning its influence on the human frame.

Yours, &c.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

P. S. It is not meant, by what is said above, to disparage Dr. Mead's book in the least, for it is an excellent performance; and I cannot but admire the author's magnanimity in altering his hypothesis, and making a public profession of his former error, in his last edition. In this, I think, he truly shews the great man. That envious creature, Dr. Middleton, who was always pecking at great men, and at Dr. Mead amongst the rest, was never capable of any thing so noble as this.

1758, *July*.

IX. On Promoting the Growth of Trees.

MR. URBAN,

HAVING frequently observed that trees planted in a hard soil have been little bigger in their twentieth year, than others of the same kind, planted in a light soil, have been in their sixth, I conceived a desire that my countrymen should be informed of a successful method of treating such stunted trees, recommended by a man of great learning and ability in a neighbouring nation; and have accordingly sent you an extract of M. de Buffon's Memorial on the Culture of Forest Trees, presented to the Royal Academy at Paris.

All soils may be reduced to two species; the clay, or hard, and the light, or sandy. In order to sow in a light soil, the ground must be ploughed; an operation which will be the more cheap and successful, in proportion as the soil is more light; and which is the only labour necessary, for the acorns may be sown by a person following the plough. And as these soils are generally dry and hot, the weeds, which the following spring produces, must not be plucked up, because they retain a moisture and coolness, and guard the young oaks from the too intense heat of the sun; and in the autumn, when the weeds wither, they serve as straw to shelter from the cold of winter, and prevent the tender fibres of the root from freezing.—In sandy soils nothing more than this is requisite; for the roots of the young trees finding a soil light,

and easily to be divided, spread without obstruction, and are nourished by all the juices and moisture furnished by the earth, rains, and dews, which quickly penetrate the loose texture of this ground.

But in a hard soil, a very different method must be pursued, and after all, success is more uncertain. A previous ploughing of this kind of ground is not only useless but detrimental: the best way of planting the acorns here is with a pricker, without any previous cultivation of the soil. The height gained by the young shoots the first year must be carefully remarked; and it must also be noted whether they have pushed out more vigorously the second than the first, and the third than the second year. While their growth continues to increase, or so long as it does not diminish, nothing must be done; but it will generally be perceived that, on the third year, the growth will be diminished, and if they are suffered to stand the 4th, 5th, and 6th, their growth each year will be, still less and less: and whenever this happens, without having been caused by severe frosts, or other extraordinary accidents, the young tree should be cut down to the ground in the month of March, by which many years will be gained in the whole of its growth; for the young shoot, left to itself in a stiff and hard soil, has not strength to extend its roots, which, too strongly resisted, return on themselves: the efforts made by the small tender fibres, which are the proper canals of nourishment, are ineffectual; the tree, therefore, deprived of nourishment, languishes, and its progress is annually less: but if this tree is cut down, the whole force of the sap is exerted on the root; all the fibres are expanded, and piercing the soil with greater force than they are resisted, open for themselves new ways, and by this accession of strength, accumulate the nourishing vegetative juices so as to produce a shoot in one year, more vigorous and tall than that of three years' growth before it was cut down.

In excessive hard and tough earths, after having cut away the young shoot at the end of two years, it has been found necessary to cut it down again at the end of four other years, upon observing it to languish; and this method has on trial succeeded so well as to prove experimentally, that cutting down young shoots at a proper time is the best and only culture necessary to improve woodland in the highest degree yet known; and instead of hindering, it surprisingly accelerates the growth of trees, even so as to gain several years' advantage of those that have not been cut.

1748, *May*.

X. Prolific Nature of some Vegetables.

Wandsworth, March 6, 1752.

THERE are some instances of vegetation that are really amazing; nature seems in many cases to act lavishly; and yet, I believe, it is owing to our ignorance of her grand designs, when we think so. But to come to examples: Indian corn is so prolific, that it often produces two thousand grains from one. In the year 1732, one self-sown or accidental oat-corn, in Mr. John Hope's garden, in this town of Wandsworth, produced six very large stems and fourteen smaller; one of which measured, from the root to the top, full five feet; and the number of grains they produced, being carefully told, amounted to four thousand eight hundred and sixty-four. The last edition of Camden's *Britannia* mentions corn being sown, in a field in Cornwall, after a great battle fought there in the civil-war time, that brought forth four or five ears on every stalk. I find in Motte's *Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. II. p. 290, that one M. de la Pryme having soaked three barley corns, and planted them about two feet one from another, they had sixty-five, and sixty-seven stalks a-piece from their single grains, with an ear upon every one, which had about forty corns a-piece in them. But what Mr. Digby mentions (as we are told in the aforesaid *Philosophical Transactions*) is scarcely credible, because it so far exceeds all other experiments, or observations of that nature; that a plant of barley rising from one corn, by being steeped in saltpetre dissolved in water, brought forth two hundred and forty-nine stalks, and above eighteen thousand grains. In Eame's *Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions*, part II. p. 343. we have the following account of a prodigious increase from a pompion seed. We are there told, that in the year 1699, a single pompion* seed was accidentally dropped in a pasture, in New England, where cattle had been foddered for some time; this single seed took root of itself, and had but one stalk, which measured eight inches round, and from it were gathered two hundred and sixty pompions, one with

* It is probable that this was that species of pompion, or gourd, that strikes out roots at the joints, which furnish a new supply of sap to carry on so wonderful a produce.

another as big as a half-peck. In the year 1739, my brother, John Massey, who then lived at Sutton, in the parish of Beckingham, in Lincolnshire, had a turnip, which grew in his ground, that, when the top was cut off, weighed just twenty-two pounds; it was produced in land that had not been dug up, or ploughed before, in the memory of man. He had many other very large ones, in the same crop, which he had not the curiosity to weigh; and, notwithstanding they were so large, yet they were a soft, pleasant, and good eating kind of turnip. I think accounts and observations of this nature ought not to be made public for amusement only, or to satisfy an idle curiosity; but with a view to shew what great care divine providence takes in preserving and propagating (and even sometimes wonderfully) every species of production, animal and vegetative; so that it seems impossible that any of them should be entirely lost, notwithstanding the great destruction of some, and neglect of others. And also, that such accounts may be rendered some way serviceable to mankind, especially to the industrious farmer and gardener; who may be prompted, by such hints, to try compendious and saving, and consequently profitable, ways of raising plants and vegetables, by observing such instances as I have related, by soaking the seeds in some proper liquid, or adapting and preparing the ground properly.

Yours, &c.

W. MASSEY.

P.S. About ten years ago a seed of woad, supposed to be voided by a bird, shot up and branched like a little tree, upon the chalky bank by the side of the bowling-green at Dunstable; a vegetable not known there: each branch was as big as most of the single plants cultivated in Kent for the dyers.

1752, March.

XI. No Central Fire in the Earth.

MR. URBAN;

DR. Kirkpatrick concludes his *Reflections on the Causes that may retard the Putrefaction of Dead Bodies*, with these words: 'The united experience and penetration of our whole species is insufficient to inform us, when, and by what precise means, the element, that has lately so often, so extensively,

and in a very late instance, on the coast of the Adriatic, so destructively *struggled towards our surface*, shall at last triumph over every impediment; and, utterly effacing *the arch*, on which we sport with such confidence,' &c. By which he seems to insinuate there is a *central fire*, as many other naturalists before him have done; but no doubt a great number of your readers, Mr. Urban, as well as myself, would be glad to be informed by *him*, if he pleases, or any other gentleman of extensive knowledge, upon what foundation that notion rests. This earth, at the final consummation of all things, may doubtless be consumed without such an agent, by a comet for instance; consequently that catastrophe does not necessarily imply the existence of a central fire. And though there may be much warmth, and even heat, in the bowels of the earth, and even at the bottom of the deepest mines, yet I apprehend that those may be generated otherwise; to wit, by the mixture and collision of certain heterogeneous bodies, as the chemists teach. This accidental spontaneous fire, in concurrence with other causes, will account for the origin and continuance of volcanoes, the phenomenon of earthquakes, so far as they are owing to this element, the formation of precious stones, minerals, hot baths, and the like natural appearances.

It is difficult to conceive how a fire, pent up in the centre of the earth, can possibly burn without spiracles, and yet we do not find any such. The volcanoes, which bid the fairest, are all in general in mountains, and do not run any considerable depth below the roots of their respective hills, though perhaps some little they may, since some as I think have been of opinion, though others controvert it, that *Ætna* and *Vesuvius* communicate under the streights of *Messina*. But what is this to reaching down to the centre, or even communicating with that, when the semidiameter of the earth is not less than 3440 Italian miles?

If the volcanoes are not the spiracles of the central flame, we know of no other fissures that can pretend to it. *Job Ludolphus* tells us indeed, that in *Æthiopia* there are 'immense gulphs, and dreadful profundities; which, because the sight cannot fathom, fancy takes them for abysses, whose bottoms *Tellezius* will have to be the centre of the earth.' If they extend downwards, as far as the centre, we are sure there is no central fire; for there is no appearance of flame or smoke in these horrible *hiatus*'s. But the truth is, the mountains of *Æthiopia* are most prodigious; the Alps and Pyrenees are nothing to them; they are many of them not declivous, but precipitous, like the cliffs at *Dover*;

and therefore, supposing an interstice or valley between any two such monstrous precipices as these, the effect to an eye at the top must needs be most frightful and ghastly; and yet it may be justly questioned, could the trial be made, whether it would range any lower than the low-water mark of the great Æthiopic or Indian ocean. There is a perpendicular opening in the peak of Derbyshire, called Elden Hole, which Mr. Cotton plumbd to the depth of 884 yards, and the lead still drew; but he could never get the plummet so low afterwards*; but, take it at the greatest depth, they who are acquainted with the surface of the earth in those parts, will hardly think the bottom of this pit sinks beneath the edge of St. George's channel, on the coast of Lancashire. But these hideous chasms, as was observed, be they never so deep, afford no flames, no smoke, and therefore cannot be spiracles to an abyss of fire: and as there are no vents on the dry land, there can be none in those parts of the terraqueous globe which are covered with water: for the fluid would necessarily run in and extinguish the fire. Whereupon one cannot help remarking, that it is much more probable there should be an abyss of water at the centre, to which the Scriptures give so much countenance, or a *Terrella*, with Dr. Halley, than a globe of fire; for if any chinks were left at the formation of the earth originally, or have since happened by earthquakes, or any other means, the water, (and we know that the superficies of the earth is every where so far as we poor mortals have penetrated, replete with water) would of course rush in and lodge there.

But what, have the miners nothing to say? Truly, very little to the present purpose. Heats and damp have been accounted for above, and the mines universally, throughout the whole face of the globe, are in mountains, it being a maxim among these gentry that they are never to be sought for in plain champaign countries. Admitting then a shaft should sink 200 fathom, it would not pass beneath the high-water mark; but the question ought to be put, how far the mine has gone below the medium of low and high water, and supposing the excrescences on the surface of the earth were all pared off in order to make a smooth and even terraqueous sphere, no mines, I am persuaded, except perhaps some tin-mines near the shore in Cornwall, have even run deeper than that term. The plummet, I believe, has gone

* In the additions to Camden, col. 593, it is said to have been plumbd 800 fathoms, but that is a mistake.

further towards the centre, than any thing in the world besides, and yet we are told that the sea is no where above a German mile deep, which is almost nothing in comparison with the semidiameter of the earth as specified above. But how are matters circumstanced in the great deeps? not at all favourably for the hypothesis of a central fire; there are no plants, nor any fish, those regions being too cold, as say the philosophers, for the spawn of fish to quicken there.

But perhaps authority swayed most, and the moderns founded their notion on the ancient Tartarus. This I fear is a misapprehension, for Hesiod places it under and not in the middle of the earth,* and accordingly our Milton has judiciously seated it far without this terraqueous globe.

These observations, Mr. Urban, are very superficial, and are only thrown out in order to induce some able hand to give this question, which certainly merits it, a thorough discussion; and it would give me great pleasure, as I dare say it would you, to see it undertaken by some adequate pen.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

1753, *Feb.*

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XII. History and Culture of Cochineal.

COCHINEAL is greatly esteemed throughout Europe for the richness and excellence of its dye; it has hitherto been produced only in the Spanish West Indies, but our newspapers tell us, that an attempt is now making to produce it in Spain, and as the nature and origin of it are not very generally known, it is hoped the following particular and authentic account of it will not be unacceptable to the public.

Yours,

AN.

It was not long ago believed that cochineal was the seed of a plant; an opinion which probably took its rise from the circumstances of its being found upon, and gathered from, the leaves of a West India shrub: but certain it is that cochineal belongs to the animal, and not to the vegetable

* Hesiod. *Ἐργον*, 720, 721, et M. Le Clerc, ad v. 728.

kingdom. The grains of cochineal are each of them a little animal, which, when alive, greatly resembles a wood-louse, and from this resemblance it takes its name; for the Spaniards who first brought it into Europe and gave it its name, call a wood-louse, 'cochinilla.' These animals do not indeed roll themselves up, on being touched, as the wood-lice do, nor are the largest of them bigger than a sheep-tick.

The plant, or shrub, whereon these little animals are bred, nourished, and brought to perfection, is called, in the West Indies, Nopal, or Nopalera, and is a sort of fig-tree. It is indeed rather a heap of leaves than a shrub. After the trunk or stem has risen a little above the ground, it divides itself into several arms or branches, and the trunk itself and its several ramifications are full of knots: each of these knots sends out a leaf, and from the end of that leaf springs another, and so on till the plant arrives at its full growth. Those leaves which spring first and are nearest the trunk or branches, are the largest: the leaves are pretty long and not flat, but somewhat rounded, or convex, and full of little protuberances, and covered with a thin and delicate membrane which always preserves a lively green colour. Its flower is small, and like a flesh-coloured ball, in the centre of which appears the fig; and as the fig increases, the flower decays and loses its colour, till at last it falls and leaves the fig alone. When the fig is ripe, its outer skin, or husk, is white, but its pulp or substance is of a deep red: it is very wholesome and pleasant to the taste, but it tinges the urine of those that eat it, and makes it look like blood, a circumstance which has often given great uneasiness to those who were ignorant of this property of the fruit.

The nopal is propagated thus: a number of holes are made in a line, about half a yard deep, and about two yards distant from each other: in every hole is put one or two leaves of the nopal well spread and stretched out, and then covered up with earth, and from each hole there springs a new plant. The grounds in which it is cultivated ought to be well weeded and kept clear of all other herbs whatever; for they deprive it of its due nourishment. The plants should be pruned soon after the cochineal is gathered, and all superfluous leaves cut away: they will put out fresh leaves the following year, and by these means will become more strong and vigorous. But it is to be observed that the cochinillas which feed upon young plants, are larger and of a better quality than those which are gathered from plants which have stood some years.

The cochinillas live upon the leaves of the nopal, and are

fed and nourished by sucking their juice. The juice of the leaves is watery and colourless; but these animals in converting it into their own substance, change it to a fine crimson colour. One thing very remarkable is, that the cochinillas do not gnaw nor devour the substance of the leaves, nor do the leaves suffer the least perceivable hurt or injury by their feeding upon them. It is probable that the little animals only suck the grossest juices through the pores of the thin membrane which covers the leaves.

When the cochinillas are come to their full growth, they gather them into earthen pots, close stopped, that they may not creep out; and soon after they kill them in order to prepare them for sale. The Indians have three different ways of killing them, viz. by hot water, by the fire, or by exposing them to the heat of the sun. From these different methods there arises a great variety in the colour of cochineal, some grains being of a brighter and much better colour than others. But whichever of these three methods is pursued, there is a proper degree of heat which must be carefully observed: when water is used, a sufficient quantity duly heated is sprinkled upon them: they who kill them by fire, put them into ovens properly heated: but the best cochineal is that which is prepared by the heat of the sun.

In order to have the cochineal in its utmost perfection, it is not only necessary to choose the best method of killing and preparing the cochinillas, but also to know the right time for gathering them off the leaves of the nopal; but the knowledge of this is only to be attained by practice and experience, and no certain rule can be established for it: and it is observed that the cochineal of the several provinces of the West Indies is better or worse, just as the Indians employed about it are more or less skilful and experienced.

The cochinillas in several particulars may be compared to the silk worms, and especially in the manner of laying their eggs. Such of them as are destined to breed, are taken from the leaves of the nopal when they are in full vigour, and put into baskets well closed and lined with linen, close wrought and folded several times, that none may be lost; there they lay their eggs and soon after die. The baskets must be kept close covered up till the proper season of the year arrives for laying the cochinillas upon the leaves of the nopalera. The time proper for laying them upon the leaves is in the month of May or June, when the nopalera is in its prime: and when about this time the baskets are opened, the cochinillas appear about the size of small mites, and by observing them attentively you may just perceive them move.

In this state they scatter them upon the leaves of the plants: a hen's egg shell full of them is sufficient to furnish a whole plant.

There are several things either very pernicious, or fatal to the cochinillas. If strong northerly winds come on soon after they are laid upon the leaves, they are all destroyed. Rains, snow, mists, and frosts, often kill them, and at the same time blast the leaves of the nopaleras. The only remedy in these cases is to warm and smoke them. Hens and some small birds eat the cochinillas, and so do several sorts of worms and insects, which breed in the places where the nopaleras grow. Great care, therefore, is taken to keep off the birds, and to destroy the reptiles and insects which are prejudicial to them.

The cochinillas are bred in the provinces of Guaxaca, Flascala, Chulula, New Galicia, and Chiapa, in the kingdom of New Spain, and also in the provinces of Hambato, Loja, and Tucuman in Peru. But although the cochinillas and nopaleras abound in all these provinces, yet they are not properly managed and prepared for sale in any but that of Guaxaca, and there only do the Indians make it their business to cultivate and take care of them: in all the others the nopaleras are wild and uncultivated, and the cochinillas breed of themselves without being looked after, and therefore the cochineal gathered in these provinces is much inferior in goodness to that of Guaxaca: not that the nopaleras or cochinillas are of a worse kind, but because they are not properly managed and cultivated.

In the kingdom of Andalusia in Old Spain, there is a plant called Tuna, which very much resembles the nopal, and bears a fruit like it. It only differs from the nopal in respect of its leaves, which are broad and flat, and full of prickles of different sizes. It is therefore thought that the tuna will be as proper food for the cochinillas as the nopal: and as the climate of Andalusia is dry and temperate, and agreeable to the cochinillas, the attempt to breed them there will probably meet with success.

1753, Feb.

XIII. Experiments on Animal Digestion.

MODERN naturalists and physicians rest the business of digestion on these two queries: 1. Is it the work of tritura-

tion alone? 2. Is it brought about by the joint operations of trituration and dissolvents? Experiments alone must settle the controversy; and birds, I think, for many reasons, are, of all animal subjects, by far the properest to try them upon.

The structure of the stomach in birds, is as various as their outward form. In some it is very fleshy, thick, and of a close texture, called a gizzard; in others very thin, though of a much larger capacity, in proportion to the body, being a sort of membranous pouch: in some, the stomach is partitioned into gizzard, and membrane; and lastly, in others it is all over of a middle texture and thickness, between the one and the other.

The gizzard is the stomach which seems the most favourable to the system of trituration. Its thickness, solidity, and compact texture, lead us to think it destined to act with a mighty force; and birds that have it are known to swallow sand, gravel, and small flints, with other little stones, some of which are always found within them. Such stomachs therefore seem fitted as mills for grinding and braying the grain they eat for food. The experiments of the Florentine Academy, repeated by Redi and Borelli, have further confirmed this plausible notion. Hollow particles of glass, which they gave to chickens, ducks, and turkeys, were found reduced to a fine powder. However Valisnieri, famous for a multitude of fine observations in natural history, and ever ready to oppose popular prejudices, could not rest satisfied with these facts. He looked upon the resemblance between a stomach and a mill as chimerical; he could not but think, with a great many others, that a stomach thus capable of grinding corn, must also grind itself away. He considered the reduction of glass to powder as the effect of a powerful dissolvent, and found proofs thereof in the stomach of an ostrich, which he judged incontestable. I shall name one in particular; he there met with bits of glass, perforated with a vast number of holes more minute than those of the finest silver-wire plates.

Having myself experienced how easily small glass beads of various sizes and shapes were powdered, without at all excoriating the gizzard, I caused chickens, ducks, and turkeys to swallow short tubes of glass, which were about five lines in length, and four in diameter, of which the bore was about two lines. These, after the death of the fowls, I found no longer to retain their former shape, for they were all split asunder lengthwise. They had resisted the pressure which acted upon them inwards, from without, which must have been prodigious to have broken them; but they yielded

to that from within, outwards; for it is certain that their splitting was the effect of the pressure of some small stones acting as wedges against their extremities. No dissolvent by any conceivable action upon a tube, could have divided it into two nearly equal parts.

I then got a parcel of tin tubes made, whose small diameter rendered them capable of sustaining much longer efforts, the diameters of their hollow being, at most, but a line and three quarters; and, to add to their strength, they were covered a line and a half thick with solder, which also closed up their orifices; they were about seven lines long. I caused a turkey to swallow one of them; to another I gave two; and to a third six at once. When I opened these birds twenty-four hours, and two days after, I could not find a single tube whose solidity had been proof against the force that attacked it. That which had suffered the least was grooved from end to end on two opposite sides; most of the rest were absolutely flattened, and some of them in part unrolled; the little plates that had been firmly soldered to their ends, were forced away, some of them being driven into the tubes, and others pushed outwards.

What a mighty resistance must the gizzard have been able to overcome in flattening these tubes, and producing the other remarkable alterations in their figure! The result of the different trials I made upon the like tubes, may serve in some measure to convey an idea of it: several of these, for instance, I squeezed between the cheeks of a vice, by hanging weights on the end of the handle; and it required about 437 pounds to flatten them as the gizzard had done.

A large nut with its shell is easily ground to pieces in a turkey's gizzard; and the recipe for fattening them by giving them one or two a day, is not so ridiculous as may at first appear. I have carried the point so far as to force four and twenty large ones into a turkey's craw at once, where they might be heard to rattle, upon filiping the neck on the outside; next morning they were all gone, having undergone the operation of grinding, in the gizzard.

But notwithstanding this amazing force which the gizzard exerts, in grinding the aliment it receives, does it not require the assistance of a dissolvent? And is not such a one actually to be found there? The force of the gizzard, great as it is, has its limits; and I have cast lead in moulds, whose shape it could not alter. Into one leaden tube, left open at each end, I introduced a grain of raw barley, with its husk on; into another a grain of the same husked, and into a third a grain boiled till it was ready to crack. These

tubes continued at least twenty-four hours, and sometimes double that space, in a turkey's gizzard; and the experiment was repeated divers times. The grain, whether raw and in its husk, or without the husk, or boiled, perfectly retained its figure and solidity, without any sensible alteration, except perhaps a little swelling, such as it would have acquired in any moist place.

It is well known how quickly ducks digest flesh food. I caused one to swallow several leaden tubes, in each of which was a bit of raw beef or veal, of the size of a barley-corn. When these tubes were taken out of the gizzard, several hours after, the bits of flesh extracted from them were found no ways altered either in smell, consistence, weight, or colour.

It is therefore fairly demonstrated, that if the aliment were not comminuted in the gizzard, by grinding, it would not be digested, since no dissolvent exists there, capable of dividing it; and that the comminution it undergoes in the gizzard, equal at least to that of corn in a mill, is entirely owing to the action of that viscus. I do not, however, imagine that a simple trituration of aliments, like corn milled, is a perfect digestion: to that, I think, a seasoning of certain liquids is requisite; but I have not now time to explain my idea, much less to recite the facts on which it is founded: nor have I leisure to remove the principal difficulty that has been opposed to trituration, namely, that a stomach which can divide exceeding hard substances, must destroy itself; nor to explain the nature of the seeming callous membrane which lines the gizzard; nor even to say any thing of the gizzard of a species of Indian pigeons, armed with two mills, thought to be stone, but which are really hard horn. I hasten therefore to the experiments I have made on the membranous stomachs of birds, of a texture differing in all respects from that of gizzards.

The partizans of trituration, believing they had sufficiently proved from the texture of a bird's gizzard, that digestion was effected by it, did likewise insist that it was performed purely by the same means, in the stomachs of other animals, even in the simply membranous, as well as in the most fleshy. On the contrary, those who could not be brought to conceive how membranous stomachs could be capable of grinding, would have it, that, in such, a dissolvent was alone sufficient for the business of digestion; and that it was also accomplished the same way in the most fleshy stomachs. It is too common a presumption to imagine the laws of nature more uniform than they really are: and not-

withstanding it has been well proved, that digestion is done by trituration in gizzards, yet it remains to be made appear that it is brought about by the same mechanism in membranous stomachs.

Those of birds of prey are the most proper for affording us information in this matter, especially as they are of the kind nearest in relation to our own. It is true they swallow large morsels at a time, without teeth to chew; in which they differ greatly from the human species. I was therefore desirous of trying them with variously conditioned tubes; and this I was aware I might do without difficulty, and even without taking away the life of any one of these murderers.

Whoever has looked into books of falconry must know, that carnivorous birds have a faculty of readily rejecting by vomit, any thing that their stomach cannot digest. If they swallow feathers, as they very commonly do, these never digest, nor are they evacuated through the passage of the excrements, but vomited up. I therefore provided myself with a parcel of tin tubes, of about ten lines long, and seven in bore.

A young buzzard of the largest size, from whom I had plucked some of the quills of his wings to confine him to my garden, was destined to undergo the several trials I judged fit to be made on the carnivorous kind: and the first that was resolved upon was to make him swallow one of the said tubes, open at the ends. Their size rendered them incapable of any great resistance, insomuch that they might be squeezed together by the bare pressure of the finger and thumb. The gizzard of a turkey would not have only flattened such a tube, but broken it into pieces. The buzzard, then confined under a hen-coop, vomited it up, after about 24 hours, exactly in the same condition it was swallowed, without the least distinguishable mark of any friction it had undergone. This experiment, which had convinced me, that if the bird's stomach had any force of trituration, it was extremely weak in comparison of that of a gizzard, induced me to satisfy myself forthwith if a dissolvent might not there be employed instead of it. I shall mention the precautions I made use of in order incontestably to prevent deception.

At each end of the tube I fastened a kind of grate, by means whereof the included food was secured from any motion which could possibly be produced in the stomach; so that nothing but a dissolvent could act upon it. All that seemed liable to doubt was, that if a dissolvent did really

reside in the stomach, whether it might not be in too small a quantity for enough of it to get into the tube, so as to act successfully?

The very slender opinion that my first experiment had impressed upon me of a force of pressure in the buzzard's stomach, made me imagine that a grating of fine linen thread might be sufficient for my purpose; and therefore I took a thread, and by applying it according to the length of the tube, wound it round, so that at every turn it passed over the centres of the open ends, and formed meshes, which instead of squares, as usual, were circular sectors, pointed at the centre, and widest at the circumference of the ends of the tube; yet so close there, as not to allow a free passage to any thing more than of half or three quarters of a line in diameter. The turns which formed the grates, and which I call longitudinal, were kept tight with transversal ones, which formed a sort of girdle about the middle part of the length of the tube.

The buzzard which I had made to swallow the first tube filled with flesh, and grated at the ends, disgorged it in about 24 hours, without one of the threads being broken or put in the least out of its place, or any of the meshes stretched wider. As soon as I cast my eyes on one end of the tube I was fully convinced of the reality of a dissolvent in this bird's stomach, capable of itself to effect digestion: for at first view, I perceived, within, a very soft greyish white paste, a little of which I took out with a point of a penknife, and squeezing it between my fore-finger and thumb found it exceeding tender, resembling the finest clay, moistened to an equal degree. I could observe nothing grumous, nor any diversity of colour or consistence, that had the least resemblance to the fragments of fleshy fibres. Having, by degrees, gotten it all out, I found there was as much as about half filled the tube, and I discovered therein somewhat of a slightly reddish substance, which had rather a more solid consistence than the rest. It surrounded the remains of the bit of beef, and was nearly of the natural colour. The remaining portion of the beef I washed gently to clear it from the reddish paste; and then it did not appear to be above an eighth part of what I had put into the tube.

In making a second experiment I took care to weigh exactly the bit of beef to be inclosed in the tube, which was more than 47, but not quite 48 grains. This tube, which had a grating at the ends, like the first, remained in the buzzard's stomach almost as long again as any of the others; for it was not ejected in less than 44 or 45 hours.

The digestion of the flesh had time to be more completely performed, and I made no doubt of finding it so. Upon cutting the thread and removing the gratings, I looked through the tube, as through a prospect glass, and perceived it to be above half empty throughout the whole length; so that it seemed plain that there could not be so much matter in the cavity as I had introduced. The greatest part I found to be a whitish grey pap, of a much slenderer consistence than the paste of the former experiment. It was indeed liquid; and so far, it is probable, part of it might have escaped through the meshes of the grating.

There was, however, a small portion of the beef remaining under its first form, but of a much paler hue, and not of so firm a consistence. It was parted into three so minute morsels, that being washed and gently drained, and then weighed, they were but six grains, or an eighth of the original. They were so very tender as to manifest an approaching dissolution; for having put them in the palm of my hand, and worked them tenderly with the top of a finger, as with a pestle, they immediately became as a paste.

In both the experiments, the pap, the paste, and the small portion of remaining flesh, had not the least ill scent of tainted meat; they only smelled a little faint, but not at all strong.

It was natural to desire to know how far the power of this dissolvent could exert itself, whose existence had been sufficiently proved, and if it were capable of acting effectually upon bones. Those which I first made trial of were of the softest kind, namely of a chicken a month old, no bigger than a quail. I filled the tube with six pieces, four whereof were of the wings, the other of the thighs, cut to a fit length for the reception. They weighed altogether but 26 grains. The tube being grated as before, I made the buzzard swallow it. It remained in his stomach not more than 24 hours; after which, upon taking off the grating and looking for the bones, I could not perceive the least remains of them. It seemed that they had undergone a quicker and easier digestion than the flesh; for there was nothing left in the tube but a little gelatinous substance, most of which adhered to the inside of one of the gratings.

In another trial I made use of one of the hardest of bones, the rib of an ox; two pieces of which I inclosed in the tube. There was none of the cavernous cellular part about them, but all as compact as ivory, weighing 40 grains. These resisted the dissolvent more than the tender ones had done; for after 24 hours they had lost but 18 grains, or

about half their weight. Each bone had a small drop of gelatinous matter at either end, being doubtless part of the substance which had been dissolved. That which remained under the form of bone, was hard; and these two fragments were not entirely dissolved, that is, they were not reduced to less than four grains, after having been twice more introduced into the bird's stomach.

The true carnivorous birds, such as our buzzard, feed only on the flesh of other birds, and that of quadrupeds and reptiles: no degree of hunger will induce them to swallow grain of any kind. Is this because the dissolvent of their stomachs can act only upon flesh and bones, and not upon vegetable productions? Nature has taught animals infallible lessons, such as they most stand in need of, and which they never omit to pursue. It was reasonable, therefore to presume, and curious to be satisfied, that this dissolvent in the buzzard's stomach, of such efficacy upon flesh and bones, would fail upon substances of the vegetable kingdom. I have already related an experiment, several times repeated, which seems to prove it. The thread gratings of our tubes always remained entire, without damage to any single twist.

The tubes, however, indicated very easy means of proving the power of the dissolvent on vegetable substances, which seemed less capable of opposing it, than strong and dry fibres of plants. I gave several tubes, filled with corns of wheat and barley, to the buzzard, both in the husk and without it, and also boiled. In others I put a bit of the crumb of bread, as long as the tube, and stuck with different grains; and, lastly, one half of another tube was filled with flesh, and the other half with corn. None of these experiments discovered the least alteration in any one grain of corn by the dissolvent. All came out as they were put in, saving a little swelling, such as would have been from a like continuance in any damp place. The crumb of bread seemed to have been a little operated upon, as though it had been chewed, but it was not converted to a paste, as the flesh was, that was included along with the grain.

I have reason to think that the dissolvent can operate but little more on fruit than on grain. A piece of ripe orange pear weighing 29 grains, after remaining 24 hours in the buzzard's stomach, came out unaltered; appearing only a little macerated from the warmth it was confined in. It tasted somewhat aigre, and had lost only four grains of its weight.

Now what must be the nature of this liquor, which has the like power on flesh and bones, as *aqua regia* on gold; and

can do no more with vegetables, than that menstruum can do with silver? We can scarcely hope to procure enough of this dissolving liquor to furnish a sufficient variety of trials to discover its several properties; but our tubes which have stood us so much in stead in examining into the affair of digestion, so far can supply us as to furnish proof enough of its nature. If a tube were filled with a sponge, a substance which no bird of prey feeds upon, and which, from what has appeared above, his stomach cannot digest; it should seem probable that it would imbibe the dissolvent. In short, I introduced several bits into a tube, taking care not to press them too close together, and grated up the ends. These the buzzard swallowed, and rejected as usual. The sponge, before it was put in, weighed only 13 grains; but taken out of the tube it weighed 63. Here, then, were 50 grains of the liquor, which I could easily squeeze into a vessel proper for keeping it. This experiment suffices to shew that we may become masters of a considerable quantity of it. A buzzard may be made to swallow two or three tubes filled with sponge in a day. But if, instead of a buzzard, the thing were to be done by a vulture or eagle, it might not be difficult to obtain a good glass-full of the dissolvent.

1753, *July, Aug. and Sept.*

DE REAUMUR.

XIV. The Cause of the Lustre or Resplendency of the Sea-water in the Night-time, discovered and explained.

THE splendour of the sea-water during the night, has long been a subject of admiration; and upon the coasts in the neighbourhood of the town of Chioggia, it is particularly remarkable: at first sight one would imagine that the brilliant images of the fixed stars were reflected by the sea; and when the sea is agitated by winds, or pierced by the strokes of oars, this brightness becomes much more vivid and copious, especially in places abounding with the *alga marina*, or sea-weed. This beautiful phenomenon, which continues in our parts, from the beginning of summer till autumn, hath often engaged my attention, and at length excited an earnest desire to discover, if possible, the true cause of it.

One fine summer night I walked out upon the sea-shore, and after having observed this shining water for some time, I took a vessel full of it home with me. I placed it in a dark room, and observed, that as often as I disturbed and agitated the water with my hand, a very bright light issued from it.

I then passed the water through a very close-woven linen cloth, to try if it would still retain its splendour after such a percolation. But, notwithstanding I shook and agitated it in the most violent manner, I could not excite the least luminousness in it. The linen cloth, however, afforded the most charming spectacle imaginable. It was covered with an infinity of lucid particles; a proof that the water owed its splendour to certain heterogeneous shining corpuscles, copiously disseminated through it. These corpuscles are also very numerous upon the leaves of the alga; from some leaves I have shaken off thirty at least.

To the naked eye they appear smaller than the finest hairs; their colour is of a deep yellow, and their substance delicate beyond imagination. But having a mind to examine them more curiously, I furnished myself with a good microscope, and was soon convinced that these luminous atoms are really living animals of a very singular structure; and, from the brightness of their lustre, I thought myself authorised to name them *marine glow-worms*.

These little animals, similar in some respect to caterpillars, and other insects of that species, are composed of eleven articulations, or annuli, a number which, according to the celebrated *Malpighi*, is peculiar to the whole vermicular race. Upon these annuli, and near the belly of the animal, are a sort of small fins or wings, which seem to be the instruments of its motion. It has two small horns issuing from the fore-part of its head, and its tail is cleft in two.

I have already observed, that these worms are most numerous where the alga abounds. Upon this weed they appear about the beginning of summer, and soon after multiply prodigiously, and spread themselves over the whole surface of the waters. It is probably the heat of the season that causes these animals to lay their eggs, it having the same influence upon other aquatic insects, according to the discoveries of the learned Mr. Derham. We learn also from M. de Reaumur's observations, that terrestrial insects of this species shine only in the height of summer, and that their shining is caused by a particular effervescence excited in them during the time of their copulation.

We read of shining flies, which in several parts of the world give light to travellers in the hottest nights of summer. We are told, too, that in some parts of the Indies there are great numbers of shining worms, which, in very hot nights, emit luminous particles so copiously that the bushes and thickets seem to be on fire. But in one respect our marine glow-worms excel all their lucid brethren of the

terrestrial species, for these latter emit light only at a particular spot near the tail, whereas the whole body of the former is luminous. There is also one further particular to be observed, with respect to these marine animals, which is, that they do not emit the least light so long as they are still and motionless, but the parts of their little bodies are no sooner moved and agitated, than they begin to sparkle with a very extraordinary lustre. From hence may we not conclude, that their shining depends upon their motion, and is probably excited by a strong vibration of the constituent parts of their bodies, since the luminous effusions, or corruscations, seem to be exactly proportionable to the briskness and vigour of their motions.

It is to be remarked too, that when one of these little animals is cut to pieces, every piece emits a vivid light for some time, probably so long as the convulsive motion of the dying parts continues; for we know that the parts of certain fishes and insects will continue to move some time after they have been separated from the rest of the body.

After this, we need not wonder that mariners and fishermen foretel a storm, or change of weather, when they see the sea and lakes shine in an unusual manner; for at such times it may be expected that these little animals are agitated and disturbed more than common. The same thing is observable in flies and other winged insects, which are strongly affected upon an approaching alteration of the weather, and fly about in great disorder.

Many philosophers of the first rank, have imagined that the luminousness of the sea-water, in the night season, is occasioned by some electric matter.—‘The surface of the sea,’ say they, ‘having been exposed all the summer to the impulse and action of the solar rays, when it begins to be agitated by the autumnal winds, throws out luminous sparks perfectly similar to those which issue from electric bodies.’ But ocular demonstration now convinces us that this brightness is to be ascribed to these little animals. The shining of these animals may indeed proceed from electric matter contained in them, and agitated by vibration or some other internal motion; but whether it be so or not, I will not undertake to determine.

1753, Nov.

XV. Electricity in Cats.

MR. URBAN,

THE phenomena of electricity, which has so many surprising properties, seem to be of two sorts, natural and artificial; the last is to be obtained from all bodies naturally susceptible of it, as glass, &c. in which the property lies dormant till excited to act by friction, or some other violent motion.

Natural electricity is common almost to all animals, especially those destined to catch their prey by night: cats have this property in the greatest degree of any animal we are acquainted with; their fur or hair is surprisingly electrical. If it be gently raised up, it avoids the touch till it be forced to it; and by stroking their backs in the dark, the emanations of electrical fire are extremely quick and vibrative from it, followed by a crackling noise as from glass tubes when their electrical atmosphere is struck. It appears to me of singular use to animals destined to catch their prey in the dark; they give a sudden and quick erection to their fur, which raises the electrical fire; and this, by its quickness rushing along the long pointed hairs over their eyes, and illuminating the pupilla, enables them to perceive and seize their prey. It would be worth while to inquire whether all the wild sort that catch their prey with the paw are not endowed with the same vibrations of electrical fire. The cat is the only domestic animal of that species; but such a discovery in the ferocious kind would still be an additional demonstration of that infinite wisdom, so easily discoverable in the most minute operations of all the works of God, and so perfectly adapted to a proper end.

I am, yours, &c.

1754, *March*.

G.

XVI. Heads for a Natural History of Great Britain.

The following Queries are proposed to Gentlemen in the several parts of Great Britain, where they reside, with a view of obtaining, from their Answers, a more perfect account of the Antiquities and Natural History of our Country than has yet appeared.

1. **WHAT** is the ancient and modern name of the parish, and its etymology?

2. By what parishes is it bounded, E. W. N. and S. and what is its length and breadth?

3. What number of hamlets or villages are in it? their names and situation?

4. What are the number of its houses and inhabitants?

5. What number of people have been married, christened, and buried, for the space of 20 years last past, compared with the first 20 years of the register? When did the register begin? If there are any curious remarks made therein, please to give an account thereof.

6. In what manor, diocese, deanery, and hundred, does the church stand?

7. Is it dedicated to any saint, and when and by whom was it built?

8. Of what materials is it built, has it a tower or spire?

9. What are its dimensions, number of aisles, chancels, chapels, and bells, and the inscriptions thereon?

10. What may the living be computed to be worth?

11. Is it a rectory or a vicarage, and who are the present and past incumbents, as far back as you can trace?

12. Who is the present or former patron?

13. Are there any and what lands belonging to the glebe or vicarage?

14. If a vicarage, who is possessed of the great tithes, what may their reputed value be, and is any modus paid thereout, and to whom?

15. Are there any and what manors in the parish, and to whom do they belong?

16. Are there any vaults or burial-places peculiar to any ancient or other families? What are they, and to whom do they belong?

17. Are there any ancient or modern remarkable monuments, or grave-stones, in the church or chancel, &c.? Please to give the inscriptions and arms, if any, on the same, if worthy notice, especially if before the 16th century.

18. Are there any remarkable ones in the church-yard? Please to give an account what they are. Are there any paintings in the windows either of figures or arms? Add a copy or description.

19. Are there any tables of benefactions or other inscriptions which are worthy notice, on any of the walls of the church, either within or without? Please to insert them at full length.

20. Are there any particular customs, or privileges, or remarkable tenures in any of the manors in the parish?

21. What number of gentlemen's houses, farms, and cottages; may be in the parish?

22. What ancient manor or mansion house, seats, or villas, are in the parish?

23. Is there any chapel of ease in the parish, how is it supported, and who is the present and late incumbent, and of what value may the cure be supposed to be?

24. Are there any annual or other processions, perambulations, or any hospital, alms-house, or school-house; by whom and when founded, and who has the right of putting people into them?

25. Have you any wake, Whitsun-ale, or other customs of that sort used in the parish?

26. Is there any great road leading through the parish, and from what noted places?

27. What common, or quantity of waste land may be in the parish?

28. What are the present or ancient prices of provisions, beef, veal, mutton, lamb, pork, pigs, geese, ducks, chicken, rabbits, butter, cheese, &c.?

29. What is generally a day's wages for labourers in husbandry and other work, and what per day for carpenters, bricklayers, masons, tailors, &c.?

30. What is usually the fuel? Is it coal, wood, heath, furze, turf, peat, or what; and the prices paid on the spot?

31. What distance is it from London and the chief towns round, and what is the price of carriage per hundred-weight?

32. Are there any crosses, or obelisks, or any thing of that nature erected in the parish?

33. Are there any remains or ruins of monasteries or religious houses? Give the best account thereof you can.

34. Are there any Roman, Saxon, or Danish castles, camps, altars, roads, forts, or other pieces of antiquity remaining in your parish; what are they, and what traditions are there, or historical accounts of them?

35. Have there been any medals, coins, or other pieces of antiquity dug up in your parish; when and by whom, and in whose custody are they?

36. Have there been any remarkable battles fought, on what spot, by whom, when, and what traditions are there relating thereto?

37. Has the parish given either birth or burial to any man, eminent for learning or other remarkable or valuable qualifications?

38. Are there, in any of the gentlemen's seats in the parish,

any remarkable historical pictures, or portraits of eminent persons, any curious statues, busts, &c. or other things worthy notice?

39. Are there any parks or warrens, the number of deer, and extent of the park, &c. any heronries, decoys, or fisheries?

40. Do any rivers rise in or run through the parish, which are they; if navigable, what sort of boats are used on them, and what is the price of carriage per hundred or ton, to your parish?

41. Are there any, and what bridges, how are they supported, by private or public cost, of what materials, what number of piers or arches, the length and breadth of the bridge, and width of the arches?

42. Are there any barrows or tumuli, and have any been opened, and what has been found therein?

43. Are there any manufactures carried on in the parish, and what number of hands are employed?

44. What markets or fairs are kept in the parish, what commodities are chiefly brought for sale; if any of the manufactures or produce of the country, live cattle, or other things, what toll is paid, and to whom, and where are they kept?

45. Is there any statute fair for hiring of servants, and how long has it been established; what are the usual wages for men and maids, &c. for each branch of husbandry?

46. Are there in any of the gentlemen's houses, or on their estates, any pictures which give insight into any historical facts, or any portraits of men eminent for any art, science, or literature; any statues, busts, or other memorial which will give any light to past transactions?

47. Are there any and what dissenting meetings in the parish, and what number of each sect may be in the parish?

Queries relating to the Natural History of the Parish.

1. WHAT is the appearance of the country in the parish, is it flat or hilly, rocky or mountainous?

2. Do the lands consist of woods, arable, pasture, meadow, heath, or what?

3. Are they fenny or moorish, boggy or firm?

4. Is there sand, clay, chalk, stone, gravel, loam, or what is the nature of the soil?

5. Are there any lakes, meers, or waters, what are they, their depth, where do they rise, and whither do they run?

6. Are there any subterraneous rivers, which appear in one place, then sink into the earth, and rise again?

7. Are there any mineral springs, frequented for the drinking the waters; what are they; at what seasons of the year reckoned best, and what distempers are they frequented for?

8. Are there any periodical springs, which rise and fall, ebb and flow; at what seasons? Give the best account you can.

9. Are there any mills on the rivers; to what uses are they employed?

10. Are there any and what mines; what are they, to whom do they belong, what do they produce?

11. Have you any marble, moorstone, or other stone of any sort; how is it got out, and how worked?

12. What sorts of manure or amendment are chiefly used for the land, and what is the price of it on the spot?

13. What are the chief produce of the lands; wheat, rye, oats, barley, peas, beans, or what?

14. Are there any hop or cherry gardens, and what is the price on the spot?

15. What sort of fish do the rivers produce, what quantities, and what prices on the spot, and in what seasons are they best?

16. Are there any remarkable caves, or grottoes, natural or artificial? Give the best description and account thereof you can.

17. Are there any and what quantities of saffron, woad, teasels, or other vegetables of that sort, growing in the parish, and the prices they sell for on the spot?

18. Is the parish remarkable for breeding any cattle of remarkable qualities, size, or value, and what?

19. Are there any apple orchards in the parish, do they make any cider, of what sort is it, and if sold, what may it be worth a hogshead on the spot?

20. Are there any chalk pits, sand or gravel pits, or other openings in the parish, and what?

21. On digging wells or other openings, what strata of soil do they meet with, and how thick is each?

22. How low do the springs lie, and what sort of water do you meet with in the several parts of the parish?

23. Is there any marl, fuller's earth, potter's earth, or loam, or any other remarkable soils, as ochre, &c.?

24. Is there any bitumen, naptha, or other substances of that nature found in the earth?

25. What is the general price paid for lands, arable, meadow, pasture, &c.?

26. Does the parish produce any quantities of timber, of what sort, and what are the prices on the spot, per load or ton?

27. What are the methods of tillage, what sorts of ploughs, &c. are used?

28. Are any quantities of sheep raised or fed in the parish, and on what do they chiefly feed?

29. Are the people of the country remarkable for strength, size, complexion, or any bodily or natural qualities?

30. What are the diversions chiefly used by the gentry, as well as the country people on particular occasions?

31. What is the nature of the air; is it moist or dry, healthy or subject to produce agues and fevers, and at what time is it reckoned most so? And, if you can, account for the causes.

32. Are there any petrifying springs or waters that incrust bodies, what are they?

33. Are there any hot waters or wells for bathing, and for what distempers frequented?

34. Are there any figured stones, such as echinitæ, belemnitæ, &c. Any having the impression of plants or fishes on them, or any fossil marine bodies, such as shells, corals, &c. or any petrified parts of animals: where are they found, and what are they?

35. Is any part of the parish subject to inundations or land floods? Give the best account, if any things of that nature have happened, and when.

36. Hath there been any remarkable mischief done by thunder and lightning, storms, or whirlwinds, when and what?

37. Are there any remarkable echoes; where and what are they?

38. Have any remarkable phenomena been observed in the air, and what?

If the Parish is on the Sea Coast.

39. WHAT sort of a shore, flat, sandy, high, or rocky?

40. What sort of fish are caught there, in what quantity, at what prices sold, when most in season, how taken, and to what market sent?

41. What other sea animals, plants, sponges, corals, shells, &c. are found on or near the coasts?

42. Are there any remarkable sea-weeds used for manure of land, or curious on any other account?

43. What are the courses of the tides on the shore, or off at sea, the currents at a mile's distance, and other things worthy remark?

44. What number of fishing vessels, of what sort, how navigated, and what number of hands are there in the parish?

45. How many ships and of what burden belong to the parish?

46. Are there any and what light-houses, beacons, or land-marks?

47. What are the names of the creeks, bays, harbours, headlands, sands, or islands near the coasts?

48. Have there been any remarkable battles or sea-fights near the coasts, and when did any remarkable wrecks or accidents happen, which can give light to any historical facts?

49. If you are in a city, give the best account you can procure of the history and antiquity of the place; if remarkable for its buildings, age, walls, sieges, charters, privileges, immunities, gates, streets, markets, fairs, the number of churches, wards, and guilds, or companies, or fraternities, or clubs that are remarkable; how it is governed; if it sends members to parliament, in whom does the choice lie, and what number of votes may there have been at the last poll?

1755, *April*.

XVII. Account of an Inflammable Well.

MR. URBAN,

Coalbrookdale, June 25, 1755.

IN consequence of your inquiry after natural curiosities, I shall endeavour to give you as exact an account as possible of one in our neighbourhood, leaving the physical causes to be assigned by those who are better qualified to judge of such phenomena.

About 40 years ago a burning well was discovered not far from hence. It was situated about 60 yards from the river Severn, in the parish of Borseley, and county of Salop, at the foot of a gently rising hill, encompassed on every side with coal-works, though none very near it.

This remarkable curiosity first made its appearance about the year 1711, being discovered by a poor man living near

the place, who being alarmed with an uncommon noise in the night, arose, and went to the place from whence it proceeded, with a lanthorn and spade: upon digging a little, the water gushed out with violence, and (to the man's surprize) took fire at the candle. In order to reap some benefit from the discovery, he afterwards inclosed it with a frame and door, leaving a hole to collect the flame, by which he might light, and extinguish it, at pleasure; by this means he made considerable profit from the company resorting thither to see it. Thus it continued in fame some years, but the store of inflammable matter being exhausted, the fire grew weaker, and would burn no more.

But in the year 1747, the same old man, by a like notice as before, once more gave the struggling vapours vent, at a place about ten yards distant from the old well, where it burnt as formerly. At that time I published a short account of it in the Birmingham paper, for the discoverer's benefit, and numbers of strangers from different parts were gratified with so rare a sight. Amongst other ladies and gentlemen whose curiosity drew them thither, was Mr. Mason, F.R.S. and Woodwardian professor at Cambridge, who afterwards inserted a little Memoir in the Philos. Trans. on this subject, addressed to Martin Folkes, Esq. but as it is a vague account, wanting that precision necessary to gratify a naturalist, I shall here attempt a more distinct narration.

The well, on application of a candle, immediately took fire, and flamed like spirits of wine, to the height of 18 or 20 inches; the heat was so intense as to boil a common tea-kettle in about nine minutes; mutton stakes, and slices of bacon, were broiled very soon, and with an excellent flavour. The old man sometimes boiled his family pot over it, and had the adjacent neighbourhood abounded less with fuel, it might have been applied to culinary purposes, with great advantage.

It is remarkable, that the flame was emitted with a rumbling noise, and alternate gulplings of the water, which, though boiling like a pot, always remained cold, and the ebullition still kept it muddy. I do not suppose there was any inflammable quality in the water itself, which proceeded only from the morassy grounds above; doubtless the igneous vapours were collected in the lower cavities of the earth, and hollows of old coal mines, which generally produce very sulphurous exhalations, and particularly in the works near this place, where the subterraneous ducts of air force through the fissures of coal and rock, so strongly, as to blow out a candle. These currents of air, in their passages to the vacant

Hollows, are impregnated with sulphur and salt, where, being pent down and confined, they at last force a passage through the interstices which drain off the superficial water, and thereby occasion that pulsation in the flame, resembling a smith's forge.

I am farther confirmed in this supposition by the circumstances attending its last, and probably, its final cessation; for about three years ago a gentleman determined to sink a coal-pit near the spot, but the undertaking proved expensive, and hazardous; the workmen were greatly annoyed by wild-fire, and when they had sunk to the depth of 88 yards, and began to get coals, a subterraneous reservoir of brine suddenly burst into the work, and filled it to the level of 18 yards, which proved to be only a stagnant lake, and not a brine spring, although it was so strong that an egg swam high in it. The pit was afterwards drained, but the sulphur remaining excessively strong, it was judged proper to fire it, which caused so terrible an explosion as alarmed all the neighbourhood, they imagining it had been an earthquake. It shook their windows, pewter, and even the casks in the cellars. This, however, seemed like a dying groan of the burning well, which since that time has entirely ceased to burn.

Had such a curiosity appeared near London, the discoverer would probably have got a fortune by it; but now we can only perpetuate its memory by inserting this account, which you may depend upon as authentic.

Yours, &c.

1755, July.

G. PERRY.

XVIII. Fire from the Bowels of a Beast.

THE latter end of October, 1751, an inhabitant of Esnans, near Neufchatel, in Franche-compté, who had a beast that had been sometime sick and extremely swoln, gave it about the quantity of an ordinary charge of gunpowder in cold water, upon which the swelling presently subsided; but it soon returning, the remedy was again repeated, but produced only a transitory effect. It was therefore resolved to kill the creature, and several of the neighbourhood came out of curiosity, at the opening of it, to see in what condition the flesh was. As a butcher was forcibly drawing out the stomach, or paunch, he tore it, and there instantly issued

forth, with some noise, a flame that rose above five feet high, which burnt his hair and eyebrows, and affected his eyes to that degree, that he could not bear the light for a long time. A young girl who held a lamp to light him, had all her hair burnt off, and would probably have been a further sufferer, had not her mother thrown her apron over her head, and so smothered the fire. This flame continued decreasing two or three minutes, the paunch contracting all the while, but an intolerable stench remained in the cow-house.

As singular as this fact appears to be, it is not the only one we have upon record. Fortunius Licetus, in his book *De Lucernis Antiquorum Reconditis*, reports, that a professor of anatomy at Pisa dissecting a body in the public amphitheatre, and a candle standing near him, there burst forth from the stomach a vapour which kindled at the candle. This accident appears to be near a-kin to that above related, and both seem to prove, that vapours easily inflammable may be formed in animal bodies, for it is very unlikely, that the gunpowder which the beast had swallowed several days before, could any ways contribute to such an event.

1755, Oct.

XIX. Earthquakes, how produced.

IN order to form the most probable system of earthquakes, it should be observed, that all readily inflammable substances, as gunpowder, and nitrous or sulphurous minerals, in their ignition generate a large quantity of air, and that the air thus produced is in a state of very extraordinary rarefaction, and if compressed within the bowels of the earth, cannot but occasion very violent effects. Suppose, therefore, that at the depth of 100 or 200 fathoms there be lodged pyrites, or other sulphurous matters, and that by the fermentation produced from the filtering of waters, or other causes, these happen to take fire, what will most likely be the result?

In the first place, it is known that those substances are not, for the most part, disposed in horizontal *strata*; on the contrary, they are contained in perpendicular fissures, and in caverns at their bottoms, as also in other places into which waters can penetrate. These substances coming to take fire upon imbibing water, will generate a large quantity of air,

the spring of which, compressed in a little room, will not only shake the superior ground, but seek for passages whereby to extricate itself: such are the canals formed by subterraneous rivulets, where a furious wind will be formed, whose noise will be heard at the earth's surface; and this wind will throughout its whole extent cause an earthquake, more or less violent, in proportion as it is more or less remote from the new kindled fire, or rushes through passages more or less narrow. This explication seems to agree with the several phenomena of earthquakes.

Chemistry furnishes a method of making artificial earthquakes, whose effects are in all respects similar to those of the natural ones. As it fully illustrates the process of nature upon the very principles I have advanced, I here give it, though pretty well known, from Boerhaave.

To 20 pounds of iron filings, add as many of sulphur; temper, mix, and knead the whole with a little water into a stiff mass, which bury some feet deep in the ground. In six or seven hours time this will produce a prodigious effect; for the earth will begin to tremble, crack, and smoke, and actual fire and flame will at length burst through. Such is the effect of two cold bodies in the cold ground, from the bare intermixture of a little water: there wants but a sufficient quantity of the mass to produce a true volcano.

It has been observed for ages past, that places near the sea are the most exposed to the terrible disasters of earthquakes; on which account, doubtless, it was that Neptune was called by the ancients *Σεισιχθων*, as also, *Ενοσιχθων*, *Ενοσιγαιος* and *Τιναντορογαιος*, by all which epithets they denoted his power of shaking the earth. Cast your eyes to those parts of the globe where volcanoes most abound, and you will find them all situated in islands, or near the sea-coast, and where these are, earthquakes are frequent. The Alps are not subject to them, but those parts of Italy which are farthest advanced into the Mediterranean are; and the like holds good in America.

The season of the year seems to have some share in these tremendous events. The first great overthrow of Lima was indeed in July 1586, but the other two, of 1687 and 1746, happened both in October, probably after the equinoctial high tides, in conjunction with the western winds, had introduced much water into the subterraneous cavities. Lima has been considerably shaken by two other earthquakes, in 1630 and 1655, both which, like the late dreadful one at Lisbon, were in November.

1755, Dec.

XX. Account of a Moving Hill.

MR. URBAN,

GIVE me leave, by your means, to communicate to the public what seems highly to deserve their notice, and what you may depend on the truth of, having been myself an eye-witness.

At a place called Toy's Hill, about three miles from Westerham in Kent, about two acres and a half of ground (part ploughed and part turnips) has since Christmas last undergone a great and surprising alteration. The situation is on the side of a hill, inclining to the south, and the land has been continually moving in that direction, imperceptibly indeed at the time, but now the effect is very apparent. The upper or northern side, now planted with turnips, is sunk two or three feet, and is full of clefts or chasms, some of them a foot deep, and many of them filled with water. Two or three are as large as ponds, being six or eight feet deep, and ten or twelve square. Part of a hedge, which divided the fields, is moved about three roods to the southward, so as to form an angle with the two ends which it was upon a line with before. Another hedge is broken asunder, and there is now a gap of eight feet where before it was contiguous. Between the fields is a large coppice, which is also full of cracks and pits of water, and a large oak therein is apparently falling. The southern part, which has been ploughed this winter, and was then on a level with the rest of the field, now overhangs it like a precipice about the height of twelve feet, and is rendered quite useless for the purpose of sowing, as is all the rest for pasture or tillage. That land on each side which has not moved, is covered by the rest, which folds over it at the height of six or seven feet.

Numbers of people daily resort to see it, and where it will end nobody knows, as in two or three days' time, especially after great rains or snows, fresh alterations are still perceived. The History of England makes mention of a similar case happening at Westerham in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

As the *best* verbal description must be inadequate, if this *imperfect* one should induce some of your ingenious correspondents to visit the place, and take a sketch of it in its present form (and I assure him the strangeness of the sight

will highly reward his trouble) it might further contribute to the satisfaction of your readers, and thereby answer the design of your constant purchaser,

1756, *March.*

GRANTICOLA.

To Granticola.

SIR,

THOUGH a physical solution of the appearance at Toy's Hill, as described by you in last Magazine, might come more plausibly from one that had had an opportunity of inspecting it, and that something perhaps might be gathered from the nature of the *stratum* in the part described; yet I shall venture to offer you a hint concerning the cause of the ambulation of this portion of solid earth, not only not inadequate to the fact, but also confirmed, as I think, by experience. I suppose then, there must be an even and smooth layer of some kind, probably of clay, underneath this floating field, to the North at the depth of three feet, and to the South at the depth of twelve, with a small vein of water upon its surface, just enough to moisten it. Now as the last summer was remarkably wet, and the winter rather so than otherwise, and the declivity of the hill would give a propensity to slide, a very small matter, it is apprehended, in such circumstances, might serve to put the mass in motion; and when I consider, that an earthquake was felt in the South of England, on the 1st of November last, I incline to believe, that the concussion of this island, though so slight, might be sufficient to set this ground in motion. This is my conception of the matter, and I think it greatly supported by an incident at Pillingmoss, in Lancashire, and the reason commonly assigned for that:—'In February 1745, on the East side of Corlew Hill, a part of Pillingmoss floated down Danson's, or Wild Boars' Dales, and drove before it a vast quantity of mud, loose turfs, and black water, and covered with that kind of matter near 50 acres of ground (almost 20 of which was improved ground) to a great thickness; and sliding on, it reached as far as Dr. Danson's house, and pressed it down.' This account I have from a pamphlet, published on the occasion, where it is observed there had happened two such slips of the same moss before, one that the author had seen about the year 1708 or 1709, and another which he had heard of from old people. The fluxion of the moss was very slow, on account of the thickness of the matter, though the said matter was in a liquid

state; but the matter floating at Toy's Hill, being more fixed, one has reason to expect it would be still slower, as we find it was, to wit, imperceptible. There was a declivity in both cases, and in both much rain had fallen to facilitate the defluxion; for as to the cause of the motion at Pillingmoss, it is entirely attributed to the abundance of rain and snow that had fallen, and had softened it, upon which it was very natural for the liquified matter to descend and slide, upon the clay underneath, from a higher to a lower place. I see no difference in the two cases, only that here the sliding matter was liquid, whereas at Toy's Hill it is fixed; but this will make no alteration in any other respect, but in the beginning of the motion; the moss would slide in its own nature, as a fluid, but the field at Toy's Hill would require a first mover, and this, as was mentioned, I take to have been the earthquake.

Yours, &c.

1756, April.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXI. History of Northern Lights in England.

*Armorum sonitum toto Germania cælo
Audit.*

Virg. Georg. i. 474.

MR. URBAN,

IT is a vulgar opinion, that the *Aurora Borealis*, or the Northern Lights, were never seen in England till the 6th of March, 1715. Indeed the lights that appeared then were very extraordinary, and happened at a very critical time, which occasioned their being much taken notice of, as also their being mentioned by our historians,* to which I may well add, that none so copious or remarkable had probably happened for many years before. It is not my present business to inquire into the cause of this phenomenon, which may be learned from other authors;† but for the rectifying this mistaken notion of their first appearance, which can tend to nothing but superstition, as generally all philosophical

* Salmon's Chronolog. Historian. Whiston's Memoirs, p. 608. &c.

† Dr. Halley, in Phil. Trans. Dr. Gawin Knight, on Attraction and Repulsion.

errors do, I shall recite a few examples of their being observed in this nation long before the date abovementioned, even before the Norman Conquest, to which period I shall at this time confine myself.

The first example I meet with is A.D. 555, when as Matth. of Westminster relates it, ‘*quasi species lancearum in aëre visæ sunt a Septentrione usque ad Occidentem*,’ that is, certain appearances of lances were seen in the air from the north to the west.* Whereupon you will please to observe, that these coruscations were in the northern parts of the world, I presume chiefly in the north-west, and that the people called the streamers *lances*, as they did in the year 1715.

The same author tells us, that in 567, ‘*Hastæ igneæ in aëre visæ sunt, portendentes irruptionem Longobardorum in Italiam*,’ that is, that fiery spears were seen in the air, portending the incursion of the Lombards into Italy. The notion of arms still prevails, the radiations being here called *spears*, and moreover they are supposed to be predictive of a grand future event, as on other occasions these lights are generally supposed to be; which calls to my mind that line in the first Georgic of Virgil, which I have chosen for the motto of this paper, where the poet, enumerating the several prodigies that preceded and betokened the death of Julius Cæsar, mentions a sound of arms in the sky,

*Armorum sonitum toto Germania cælo
Audit.*

which noise or clashing of arms was heard, you observe, not in Italy, but in the more northern regions of Europe.

Matth. of Westm. remarks again on the year 743, ‘*Visi sunt in aëre ictus ignei, quales nunquam mortales illius ævi viderunt, Kal. Jan.*’ that on the first of January, certain fiery streamers were seen in the air, such as the men then living had never beheld before;† and then he immediately subjoins, that the same year Wilfred, Archbishop of York, died, as if he intended it to be understood, that these lights then portended his death.

In the year 776, Matthew writes, ‘*Visa sunt in cælo rubra signa, post occasum solis, et horrenda*,’ that in the evening red signs, and horrible to behold, were seen in the

* Matth. Westm. p. 101.

† Ibid. p. 140.

heavens ;* and it is well known, that these lights are often so strong as to be of a deep red.

In the 10th year of the reign of Brightrick, King of Wessex, which corresponds with the year of our Lord 794, another appearance of this kind was seen, of which I shall here exhibit Mr. Speed's account: 'In the daies of this Brightrick many prodigies appeared, and more perhaps than will be believed, for it is reported, that in his 3d yeare a shower of bloud rained from heaven, and bloody crosses fell on men's garments as they walked abroad. And in his tenth yeare were seen fiery dragons flying in the ayre; which wonders some took to be presages of the miseries following, both by the invasion of the Pagan Danes, that in these times were first seene to arrive in this island, and the extreme famine that afterwards happened.† They were reckoned, you see, among the prodigies of the times, as anciently they always were,‡ and also to be predictive, as all prodigies were then thought to be, of some disastrous event. The like conception the common people now have of the lights in 1715.

Florence of Worcester informs us, that A.D. 926, 'Ignei per totam Angliam visi sunt radii in Septentrionali plaga cœli, nec multo post Northanhinbrorum rex Sihtricus vita decessit:' fiery streamers in the north were seen all over England, soon after which Sihtric, king of Northumberland, died.§ These evidently were *streamers*, and in the common quarter, and in this author's opinion they presaged the death of the then king of Northumberland.

Matthew of Westminster and Florence of Worcester, both testify of the lights A.D. 979; the former relates, that soon after the prophecy of St. Dunstan, (who at the coronation of Ethelred the 2nd, had foretold the grievous evils that should befall this land from the Danes, on account of the murder of his brother, St. Edward) 'Nubes per totam Angliam, nunc sanguinea, nunc ignea, visa est, dehinc in radios diversos, et varios mutata colores, || circa auroram disparuit;' that a cloud, sometimes red, and sometimes of the colour of fire, was seen all over England, which afterwards being parted into several rays of various colours, disappeared towards morning.¶ The account Florence gives is *verbatim*

* Matth. West. p. 141.

† Speed's History, p. 3000.

‡ Mariana's History of Spain, p. 21, 22, and the passage above cited from the Georgics of Virgil.

§ Flor. Vig. p. 602.

|| An Hemistich.

¶ Matth. West. p. 194.

the same, only that the cloud was seen at midnight.* These lights, it seems, were seen all over England, and lasted till very late in the night; that at first it was one body of light, *nubes*, but changed its colour from red to white, or rather fire-colour, afterwards was disparted into rays or streamers of various colours, just as the *aurora borealis* is known very often to do.

Mr. Whiston would insinuate, in his *Memoirs*, p. 608, that the northern lights are much more frequent since 1715, than they were before, and are intended to foreshew the grand event of the restoration of the Jews, and the commencement of the *Millenium*. But all I can allow is, that since those very remarkable lights in 1715, the generation then living, and still going on, have *observed* them the more; that before, a brightness more than common in the north was disregarded, unless when now and then it arose to any great degree; and that otherwise in reality and truth of fact, they have not been more frequent since the date he mentions than before it. That so far north as Greenland, it is known they happen almost every night, are copious, and very useful to the inhabitants; (see Egede's account of Greenland, p. 56, 162,) and I have been informed they are not much less frequent in the remoter parts of Scotland. From all which I must infer, against Mr. Whiston, that there is nothing of a predictive nature in these appearances, since they have at all times been seen, and that the occasion of their being taken notice of more at one time than another, is entirely owing to men's greater or less attention to them, on account of some interesting conjuncture in human affairs, in concurrence with natural causes, such as a peculiar constitution of the air at such times when they are most glaringly conspicuous; for it is well known how very different the disposition of the air is, in these respects, at one time, to what it is at another. These lights are seen *all over* the north, and in some countries almost perpetually, how then can it be known to what state or kingdom they predict the impending evil? or *when* the said evil is to happen? Are those nations where they are so constant, to be visited as constantly? Are they always visited when these signs appear? The fact is quite otherwise; and that not only now, but even at such times as the lights have been so extraordinary as to merit the regard of our historians; for nothing tragical followed them in the years 555 and 776, at least, historians are silent thereon, and

* Flor. Vig. p. 608.

consequently could find no public calamity whereunto to apply them. In short, there are few of those arguments which Monsieur Bayle has urged against the predictive nature of comets, in his elaborate treatise on that subject, but what will be as hard, and even much harder, against any such interpretation, which so many of the vulgar incline to put upon these northern lights. No longer, then, let us be misled by men of warm heads and enthusiastic minds, to imagine, that these appearances are *signs from heaven*, (Luke xxi. 11.) or any certain tokens of the divine displeasure; but regard them as, what they really are, the ordinary and unmeaning phenomena of nature, to be ranked with comets, meteors, and mock suns,

Sic veteres avias tibi de pulmone revellas.

Pers. Sat. v. 92.

1756, *April.*

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXII. Curious Discoveries in making new Roads in Northamptonshire.

MR. URBAN,

Northamptonshire, Sept. 10, 1756.

AS many things of great antiquity have been lately discovered in making the turnpike-roads in this county, it will, we presume, be an agreeable entertainment to the curious, if a still more particular account be given of them, than that which we venture to relate upon credible testimony.

The ancient custom of burning human bodies after their decease, before Christianity was planted in this island, is visible to the eye of every traveller, on each side of the turnpike-road, betwixt the north end of Higham Ferrers, and the windmill, where the earth appears to have been dug in several places for the reception of the ashes of human bodies, which had been burned there, wherein bits of coals are yet to be seen, mixed with ashes and common mould, which, by length of time, differ very little in colour from the natural ground. On the west side of the said road, there is only one of these places of interment at present discernible, wherein some stones at the depth of about one foot appear discoloured by fire. It was from this place we took a small fragment of a Roman urn, wherein the heathens commonly

put the relics of the deceased after they had been consumed by fire.

We can hardly suppose that the persons, whose ashes have been interred in any of these receptacles, were persons of any great note or distinction, because it does not yet appear that the bodies of any brute creatures had been burned with them; for had they been persons of distinguished fortune or fame, such company would not have been wanting here, any more than in other places of the like kind, as particularly in that very remarkable burying place of the ancient Romans lately discovered in digging for gravel on the west side of the lordship of Tichmarsh, at a small distance from the river Nine, where the surface of a large tract of ground appeared much discoloured by the great number of funeral piles which have been lighted there; here we found the bones of various cattle, as oxen, goats, swine, &c. which had been burned with human bodies, agreeable to the account Virgil has left us of the manner of burning the bodies of the deceased in the Trojan army.

Whole herds of offered bulls about the fire,
And bristled boars, and woolly sheep expire.

Æn. xi.

In the aforesaid place have been discovered several pieces of Roman coin, which bear the image of different emperors, one whole urn containing a few small bones and ashes, and the fragments of urns without number, several of which were made of red earth, resembling coral, with inscriptions and hieroglyphics upon them.

But leaving these extraordinary relics for the farther remarks of curious beholders, we will proceed to our observations made in and near the turnpike-road leading from Thrapston to Market Harborough.

At the opening of a gravel pit on the south side of the said road, in Islip field, were discovered three or four collections of human bones, thrown into heaps without any order; amongst some of them were found some small bits of Roman urns.

Betwixt a place called Peter's Cabin, and Twywell Field, was found, on the north side of the said road, an entire human skeleton, with an iron helmet and spear.

In digging materials in a scaly ground, the upper end of Twywell Field, near a footway leading to Cranford, were discovered several round holes in the shape of a cone, which

were partly filled up with the same kind of rubbish which had been taken out of them; most of them were about three or four yards diameter near the surface, and near two deep; at the depth of about one foot and a half from the surface of each, appeared a dark mould impregnated with small bits of coals and some bones of hogs and other beasts. From one of these receptacles, (even yet to be seen on the edge of a stone pit in the place above-mentioned) we took a small piece of stag's horn, with a fragment of a heathen urn, which plainly shew that these receptacles, like those near Higham Ferrers, were the burying-places of the ancient heathens.

In forming the said road on the east side of the parish of Cranford St. John, at the distance of about one furlong, in a scaly ground, we discovered some ashes and bones of a beast consumed, it is supposed, with some human body. Near this place was also found a piece of coin, bearing the image of Constantine.

We are assured, from sacred and profane history, that it was a general custom to bury human bodies, not within the walls of any city or town, but in fields adjacent; but this custom was not always observed by persons of high rank and fortune, who, according to Servius, buried in their houses. This remark was verified a few years ago in digging some rubbish from the floor of a great and ancient dwelling-house in the county of Bedford, where the workmen discovered a large heathen urn with bones and ashes, which they put into the hands of the rector of the place.

As to the pieces of money we find scattered among the ashes of the dead, we are much inclined to believe that they were the halfpennies called *Naulum Charonis*, which the Romans superstitiously put into the mouths of the deceased, for the payment of Charon, the supposed ferryman of hell, who was to carry men's souls in his boat over the Stygian Lake after their decease.

But leaving these things for a while, we will proceed to some other kind of remarks we made in a large gravel pit, lately opened on the south side of Kettering field, where we discovered things of much greater antiquity, and more worthy the notice of all men, than any thing relating to the Romans, who were the invaders of our properties, and the cut-throats of mankind; for here we discovered a tooth, vertebra, and jaw-bone of some animal of an enormous size, and of a species different from any creature that is now bred and supported in our climate; these, with the thigh-bone of a beast of a more moderate size, were found in the

aforesaid gravel pit, at the depth of about seven feet, in places which never before had been opened, the strata lying in their natural order; from whence we infer, that the animals, to which *these relics did belong, were living before the fountains of the great deep were broken up, when the whole earth and its inhabitants perished by water.*

We find nothing remarkable in our progress from this place, till we come to a gravel pit, opened for the benefit of the turnpike, on the north side of the parish of Desborough, where, at the depth of about two feet, were discovered several entire human skeletons, with several amber and glass beads lying near the breast-bones of one of them; as likewise one iron ring, with several brass clasps, which, we suppose, connected the garments in which the deceased had been buried. In the same pit were found two urns, with bones and ashes in them.

In a gravel pit lately opened, near a place called the Hermitage, at the depth of about 14 feet, we found a piece of petrified wood resembling oak, about 10 inches long and 6 wide, the strata also lying in their natural order.

In the gravel pit on the north-east side of little Bowden field, near the river Welland, we found several fragments of urns, with four or five pieces of copper coin not legible; as also some little bits of brass of an uncommon form, used, we suppose, about the garments of the deceased.

Many of the aforementioned antiquities are now in the hands of Mr. M. Day, late surveyor of the aforesaid turnpike road.

We have been the more inclined to give this short account of the aforementioned antiquities, discovered in or near the turnpike-road leading from Thrapston to Market Harborough, because, we imagine, the like occasion will not again be given for such discoveries in that part of our kingdom.

Yours, &c.

1757, Jan.

A. B.

XXIII. Places in England where Natural Curiosities abound.

MR. URBAN,

IT may be of use to many of your ingenious readers, who have occasion to travel during the ensuing summer, to be informed where natural curiosities are to be found. I have, therefore, pointed out some remarkable places where curious

and rare fossils abound; and I doubt not but some who shall examine them will favour the public, by your means, with accounts of their discoveries.

HORDEL Cliff, in the parish of Hordel, in Hampshire, is situated upon the sea-coast between Lymington and Christchurch.

This cliff is in perpendicular height about fifty yards from the sea, at high-water mark, and extends about a mile and a half along shore; it is composed chiefly of red gravel, to about 18 or 20 yards below the surface, but amongst the gravel very few shells, or remains of marine bodies are to be found.

In many parts of this cliff there are large veins, or rather masses, of a mouldering soft blue clay, through which land springs are continually trickling down, which by degrees loosen the clay, and cause it to slide away in great beds, one below another, and perhaps the frosts may not a little contribute to produce this effect. So that the surface has in a few years been greatly worn away.

When this fall of the cliff happens, *then* there is found perhaps the greatest variety both of the turbinated and bivalve shells that ever were met with in any one place in the world, in their original state, and have suffered no change for innumerable ages past; this so remarkable a circumstance may be daily verified by inspecting the cabinets of the curious.

Many of these shells are the natural inhabitants of very distant regions, and some of them entirely unknown, either in their natural or fossile state.

Towards the bottom of this cliff there are frequently found large nodules of a hard reddish iron stone, or marble, being no other than an entire mass of shells, with which the church and other edifices are built.

Atherton cliffs are situated on the back of the Isle of Wight, about five miles from Newport. At the bottom of these cliffs, on the beach, are found, in great abundance, weighty pyritical substances, seemingly moulded in varieties of beautiful shells.

Sodbury, in Gloucestershire, distant from Bristol eleven, from Bath fourteen miles. There is, to appearance, as great a variety of natural bodies, within the compass of four miles round this town, as can be found in any one spot of that extent in England. On the descent of a steep stony hill, about a mile eastward from the town, the banks on each side are full of belemnites of very different kinds; nautilites of the

ribbed sort, and others. At the entrance of the town, a little south of the road, there is a large quarry of hard blue stone, being composed of masses of bivalve shells.

Near Ipswich, in Suffolk, eight miles from the sea, are many large pits of shells, called *Craigs* in that country, and some large veins of shells, but all found on the sides of hills.

Some pits are thirty feet deep, containing a variety of bivalve and turbinated shells. What is very remarkable of one sort of the last is, that their mouths open to the left hand, whereas most of that species open to the right.

Within these few years past, many thousand loads have been carried off to mend land, to the very great advantage of the husbandmen.

It is not a little surprising, that this mass of shells (called *Craig*) should be so good to enrich light sandy lands, even those the most barren, that would otherwise produce nothing but heath and moss. But on clay lands it has been often tried, and found of no benefit.

In the Isle of Sheppey, in Kent. On the north side of this small tract of land there are cliffs of different strata of clay, to about eighty feet high; they decrease gradually to the westward.

As these cliffs moulder down by frosts and stormy weather, a great variety of extraneous bodies, saturated with pyritical matter, are scattered along the shore; amongst these are found teeth, vertebræ, and other parts of fish, and many entire crabs and other fish of the crustaceous kind, petrified wood, variety of seed vessels; there are nodules also, which, broken, contain within them fair specimens of the *Nautilus Crassus Indicus*.

I have been informed, that at Faringdon, in Berkshire, some remarkable fossils are found in a reddish gravelly bed or soil near that town.

And in a hill called Catsgrove, near Reading, in Berkshire, are found, in a bed of natural sea sand, great numbers of oysters entire, which, when exposed to the air, crumble into dust.

1757, Feb.

XXIV. Discoveries of Fossil Bones in several Counties.

Extract of three very remarkable Letters, communicated by Peter Collinson, Esq. F.R.S. concerning Elephants' Bones of vast size dug up in England.

LETTER I.

From Francis Biddulph, Esq. to Strickland Mannock, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

Burton, Sussex, Dec. 24, 1740.

YOU may depend on it for certain that the bones of an elephant were found here. They were nine feet deep in the ground, and discovered in July last by some workmen digging a trench in our park; and by the appearance and disposition of the earth, all people judged it had never been opened.

The first thing discovered was a large tooth, seven feet six inches in length, and, as it lay in the ground, was whole and entire, but in taking it up, it broke all to pieces.

After this, several more were found in carrying on the trench, particularly the fellow to the before-mentioned ivory tooth, exactly of the same length; which being taken up with more care, is now to be seen, though both ends were broken off; also two more shorter tusks of about three feet in length; a thigh bone forty inches long, and thirty-one inches round in the thickest part.

There were several other bones, as the knee-pan; but the most perfect of all was one of the grinders not in the least decayed, with part of the jaw-bone, which together weighed above 14 pounds; the upper part of the tooth, where it meets its opposite, was six inches and a half long, and three inches broad. There were several other bones, not here mentioned.

But what is very remarkable is, that these teeth, bones, &c. did not lie close together, as one might suppose those of a skeleton to do, but at some distance asunder; and the larger tusks were full twenty feet apart.

The Rev. Dr. Langwith, minister of Petworth, has most of them, excepting one of the largest tusks, and one large bone. He was here at taking them up, and reasonably concludes, they were not thrown in by hand, but buried in the universal deluge.

P.S. In the past hard winter there was killed a swan at Emsworth, between Chichester and Portsmouth, lying on a creek of the sea, that had a ring round its neck, with the king of Denmark's arms on it.

LETTER II.

From Mannock Strickland, Esq. to ****.

April 4, 1741.

—— A FEW months after the foregoing letter was written, being near Mr. Biddulph's, I paid him a visit, where I saw the greatest part of one of the great teeth: it was seven feet and a half long; and at Dr. Langwith's I saw the other, with the rest of the bones mentioned in Mr Biddulph's letter, all things agreeing exactly with his descriptions. I saw also the pit it was digged out of, and observed the various strata, which run parallel, and had never been disturbed.

Within a quarter of a mile south runs a vast mountainous ridge of hills, called the South Downs of Burton Hills, from the name of the parish Mr. Biddulph lives in.

Extract of Letter III. from a Rev. Clergyman to Peter Collinson, Esq. F.R.S.

Bristol, October 23, 1756.

—— I HAD also forgot to tell you of a noble acquisition, since my tour to Wales. A gentleman who was digging upon a high hill near Mendip, for ochre and ore, found at the depth of 52 fathom, or 315 and half feet (as he measured himself by direct line) four teeth, not tusks, of a large elephant (which I think is the whole number the creature has) and two thigh-bones, with part of the head; all extremely well preserved; for they lay in a bed of ochre, which I could easily wash off. When they were brought to me, every crevice was filled with the ochre, and as I washed it off from the outside, a most beautiful white appeared; and they made a fine show in my cabinet. I propose going down into the pit myself soon; for the men have left several small pieces behind, which they did not think worth bringing up, and I make no doubt, if that be the case, but I shall procure the whole, or great part of the animal.

I have, also, since I saw you, got part of an immensely large stag's horn, undoubtedly fossil, dug up ten miles from Bristol.

Observations by P. C.

IN England, the teeth and bones of elephants have been often found fossil; and yet it is allowed on all hands, that so many elephants were never brought hither by men, as have been dug up.

In particular, besides the above accounts, I had a large grinder from Norfolk, which was found with other teeth and bones.

From Mersey Island, in Essex, were sent me a large grinder, and part of a thigh-bone; these were found with the entire skeleton, which was destroyed by the country people.

Mr. John Luffkin, in Philos. Transact. No. 274, mentions bones and teeth of an elephant found near Harwich in Essex.

Mr. Somner, in Phil. Transact. No. 272, mentions an elephant found at Chartam, near Canterbury: the teeth were all grinders, four in number.

Dr. Woodward mentions two large tusks of an elephant, found at Bowden Parva, in Northamptonshire. He had besides several pieces of elephants' teeth dug up in a gravel pit at Islington.

Unless we allow Dr. Woodward's hypothesis of the deluge, it is difficult to conceive how the teeth, bones, &c. of this vast animal came to be found so frequently in this island.

The Romans were the only people who could bring any to intimidate the Britons in their wars: but we have not the least account of any such thing.

1757, May.

MR. URBAN,

IN your Magazine for May, we have three letters communicated by the ingenious Peter Collinson, Esq. F.R.S. giving an account of bones of elephants found at different places in Sussex, Essex, and near Canterbury; wherein that gentleman observes, that "the Romans were the only people who could bring any elephants to intimidate the Britons in their wars;" *which indeed is true*; and we find that in fact elephants were brought over by the Romans. In Polyænus's Stratagems we find a victory gained by the Romans over the Britons by means of an elephant. "Cæsar," says that author, "in Britain attempted to pass a great river, (supposed the Thames) Casolaunus (in Cæsar, Cassivellanus), king of the Britons, opposed his passage with a large

body of horse and chariots. Cæsar had in his company a vastly large elephant (μεγιστος ελεφας) a creature before that time unknown to the Britons. This elephant he fenced with an iron coat of mail, built a large turret on it, and putting up bowmen and slingers, ordered them to pass first into the stream. The Britons were dismayed at the sight of such an unknown and monstrous beast, (αορατον κ' υπερφυνες θηριον) they fled, therefore, with their horses and chariots, and the Romans passed the river without opposition, terrifying their enemies by this single creature." Cæsar, in his Commentaries, it is likely, omitted this account, thinking that the mention of it would detract from the honour of his conquests, since it could be no merit to conquer a people who ran away from his elephant, rather than from his troops.

Hence we may collect, 1. That an elephant was in Cæsar's retinue, and that the Romans knew, that a conquest had been gained by it.

2. That it is reasonable to suppose, that as they reaped such advantage from one elephant, they would bring over more of those animals with them.

3. That as the Roman conquests were chiefly about Sussex, Essex, and Kent, it is most likely that the bones of those creatures should be found in those counties.

It cannot be proved, indeed, that these bones have not lain ever since the general flood; but an historical truth is, in my opinion, preferable to any hypothesis whatsoever.

1757, July.

J. COLERIDGE.

Kastinskoi on the Don, Dec. 5, O. S. 1784.

MR. URBAN,

IN the neighbourhood of this town, which is about 30 versts from Voronetch, on the brink of the river Don, are found a vast number of bones, of a very large size, dispersed about in the greatest disorder. They consist of teeth, jaw-bones, ribs, spinal vertebræ, the os pubis, hip-bones, tibia, &c. not at all petrified, but in their natural state, only somewhat decomposed by the depredations of time. They are found in a space nearly three ells in depth, and about forty fathoms in length. I called together some boors that were at work at a distance, and gave them a few copecks for digging a couple of arshines in depth (i. e. four feet and a half) farther upon the bank of the river; but nothing of the kind appeared. And from repeated trials made by others, we may conclude, that not the slightest vestige of similar bones

is to be perceived either above or below the before-mentioned part of the river. Now, how has it come to pass that these bones have been accumulated and circumscribed within so small a piece of ground? By what singular event has this spot been made the receptacle of so enormous a quantity? What man soever, that has seen the skeletons of elephants, would hesitate a moment to pronounce, that these bones at Kastinskoi are the bones of that animal? The like are found in different parts of Russia, and especially in Siberia. And it is above all things to be remarked, that they are commonly, not to say always, found on the very brink of rivers.

We often meet with difficulties that throw a damp on all inquiry, and seem immediately to strike us as beyond the utmost efforts of the human mind to solve. There are others which seem to solicit our research, by affording several data from whence we may set out. From what I have laid down above, the present seems to be of the latter kind; and your readers will probably be more inclined to agree with me, when they have perused what I have to offer them on the subject. Such reasonable conclusions as any of them will please to draw, I shall be glad to see; and, having all circumstances faithfully laid before them, they will be as well enabled to reason on the matter as if they were upon the spot. We are so used to the discussion, that it grows vapid on our hands; therefore those to whom it comes with the attractions of novelty are now most likely to hit upon a true solution.

The question that presents itself at setting out is:—Are we to attribute the appearance of such fossil bones in these parts to some general revolution our globe has undergone in times extremely remote; or to some particular and local event? It is very possible that these of the Don, and those of Siberia, may have been produced by the same cause. Will it be allowed as probable, that great troops of elephants, forced by a certain imminent danger to leave their natal soil, were reduced to perish in some country more or less remote, more or less to the north or to the south? When we consider the vicinity of Persia, does not that idea come in aid of the suggestion as to the bones of elephants on the banks of the Don? And what shall hinder us then from supposing that other troops of these animals may have ventured farther to the north, where they found that death they endeavoured to avoid at home? That the banks of rivers should be their only cemeteries, may be explained from the ravages occasioned by inundations, which may have left their carcasses on these spots.

Those whom these suppositions do not satisfy, may tell us, that a number of things are still wanting towards enabling us to form any judgment on the origin of those heaps of bones daily discovered in the bowels of the earth. It is much to be wished, that some active and ingenious naturalist would collect together all the particulars that have from time to time been given on that subject. But nothing appears to me more striking than the facts related by the Abbé Fortis, in his observations on the Isles of Cherso and Ozero, in the Adriatic. He describes two caverns in the former of those two isles; and adds, that the shores of Istria afford a great number which are very spacious. One of these two caverns is, properly speaking, composed of three grottoes, that communicate with each other. Their inside, from top to bottom, is between two beds of marble. In these are a quantity of bones, in a half petrified state, and connected together by a kind of ferruginous ochre. They lie in one of the deepest recesses of this subterranean cave, two feet above the ground, and at the depth of thirty feet beneath the superficies of the mountain, which is all of marble. These fossil bones, of which other vestiges are met with on this isle, are found scattered along the whole of Dalmatia, as they are all over the Isle of Cherso. They are the bones of various terrestrial animals, some broken, and some entire. They are found in greatest quantities in vertical and horizontal gaps, and in the interstices of the beds of marble which constitute the base of the hills of this isle. Every parcel of these bones is enveloped in a coat of quartz and stalactes above a palm in thickness. The substance of these bones is calcined and shining. As they are constantly found in the Isle of Cherso, in a stony and martial earth, and as these beds of marble preserve a certain correspondence with the sides of the cavern and the continent; we may suppose that these layers, alternately composed of a stratum of marble and one of bones, agree with the northern shore of the Quarnaro, as far as the isles of the Archipelago, and probably farther. At the Museum Britannicum they shew enormous jaw-bones with all their teeth, bones, and tusks, similar to the bones and tusks of the largest elephants, all of them found in the earth on the banks of the river Ohio, and sent to the Museum by the celebrated Dr. Franklin. These bones have hardly changed their nature. As to the jaw-bones, they certainly never did belong to elephants; the teeth of them are not disposed in laminæ, like those of that animal, but are of the nature of the teeth of carnivorous animals. They are attributed, till something better can be found out for them, to

the mahmout, the existence of which is totally destitute of all probability.

In the cabinet of the Royal Society at London there is a large piece of the rock of Gibraltar, containing a great quantity of fragments of human bones; which, although they have not changed their nature, are perfectly inherent to the mass of the rock.

Mr. Thomas Falkner, in his description of the country of the Patagonians, relates, that a very large quantity of what to all appearance were human bones, of extraordinary magnitude, are found on the banks of the river of Carcarania or Tercero, at a little distance from the place where it falls into the Parana. They are of different sizes, and seem to have belonged to people of different ages. Mr. Falkner says, “he has seen the bones called tibia, ribs, sternums, fragments of skulls, and particularly molar teeth, which are above three inches in diameter at the root. I am assured,” adds he, “that the like bones are found on the banks of the Parana, Paraguay, and even in Peru.”

When I passed through Chirikova, about thirty versts from Simbrisk, I was shewn various bones of elephants, found in different parts upon the two shores of the Sviæga. The inhabitants produce likewise several little works carved out of the tusk of one of these animals discovered twenty-five years ago in the same place, the ivory of which is very yellow. A much greater number of these bones, and even the skull of an elephant, were dug up near Nagadkina, on the bank of the rivulet Birutsk, which runs into the Sviæga. The people here have made a number of little toys, &c. of the ivory found in these parts, which differs in no respect whatever, and cannot be distinguished, from the finest ivory ever used. The point of the tusk, employed in these works, is the only part of it that is the least calcined, and began to exfoliate. But is it not to the last degree astonishing, that a bone should be preserved, in a hot climate, without undergoing the slightest alteration, through an almost infinite succession of years?

It is pretended, that near the village of Nagadkina the remains of two ancient entrenchments still exist; and that whenever the earth is turned up about them, they are sure to find a quantity of human bones. If this be true, though I could learn nothing probable about it, it would occasion a sort of little triumph to some authors, who are of opinion, that all these elephant-bones, found under ground in the different countries of the North, belonged to those animals that were brought by the armies that came on expeditions

into these parts. But this opinion may be overturned by a host of reasons more triumphant still. And it is much more natural to carry back the origin of these remains, scattered even as far as the banks of the Frozen Sea, to revolutions much more remote, and of far greater importance, even subversive of the whole face of the globe we inhabit.

The opinions of naturalists on the origin of these skeletons of exotic animals are very various. Some, with all possible subtilty and ingenuity, have advanced, that the climates of the earth have successively changed their nature; and, that those which are at present cold, were hot a great number of ages ago. Others attribute it to the deluge. But perhaps there may be no necessity for wandering so far into the darkness of antiquity. In the year 1767, as they were digging a well near the Birutsk, at the depth of a fathom and a half they found a quantity of human bones, without the smallest trace of a coffin, or any thing that might serve as such: and similar bones are often found in the neighbourhood of that stream. Sometimes, it is said, the iron heads of pikes are found among the bones, and parts of other offensive weapons; which indubitably prove, that a battle had formerly been fought in these parts. Now we know that a great many of the Asiatic nations used elephants in war. It has been thought apparent, therefore, that these carcasses of exotic animals were buried in the neighbourhood of the Volga several centuries perhaps, but not so many thousand years ago as some suppose. But how are these pretended mahmout-bones often covered with so many layers of earth, and actually found in the cliffs that form the very banks of the river? It is thought not difficult to explain it. We know that the current of the immense rivers that traverse Russia frequently undermine and cut their most solid banks, and that the soil where rivers, both great and small, have formerly flowed, is now quite dry. The Volga, even in our days, has swallowed up whole islands, and formed new ones in other parts. Nay, sometimes it leaves its ancient bed, and forms another. This is proved by all those hillocks of sand, irregularly placed, and containing a very great quantity of fluviatile shells. This once laid down, we may easily conceive how those regular layers have been formed with which these elephant-bones are covered. And we see too how it is possible that a certain quantity of these bones may have been detached from a former place by the waters, and carried lower down by the current, and then covered afresh with earth. These, however, are far from solving the different appearances of those numberless collections of

bones that present themselves in various parts of the globe. I should be very happy if some of your learned naturalists would take this subject into consideration.

1785, July.

M. M. M.

XXV. Fossils in the Vicinity of Oxford.

MR. URBAN,

Oxford, March 22, 1757.

IN your two last Magazines you have obliged your readers with some entertaining remarks upon fossils. Of late years greater attention has been given to that branch of natural history than formerly, as is evident from the valuable collections in the cabinets of the curious. Were these collections not made for amusement only, but also for the better investigation of the hidden cause of the dissolution of the earth, when it received these adventitious bodies into its bosom, we might entertain some hopes of coming at the true solution of that difficult problem, than which, perhaps, there is none in all natural history more intricate, though the effects of that dissolution are every where obvious.

It is true that extraneous fossils are found more abundantly in some places than others; but there is not a tract of land in the whole world entirely without them; and they are found at all depths, indifferently, so far as the miners have hitherto had occasion to follow them.

Hordel-Cliff is very productive of extraneous fossils, and affords great variety of them, as your ingenious correspondent observes: they are also more wonderfully preserved in that stratum of clay, than in any other part of this kingdom, being very little changed from their original state, and appear equally elegant with recent shells of the same tribes, saving the colour and polish, which are somewhat impaired. But I think we can boast of as great variety, (though in a very different state) at a small village called Stonesfield, near Woodstock, in this county. Most of these are entombed in slate stone, have a more striking aspect, and shew apparent tokens of far more remote antiquity, though I believe them to be of the same date with those at Hordel-Cliff.

In splitting this stone, the workmen find great variety of extraneous bodies, such as sharks' teeth, which the naturalists call *Lamiodontes*; there are also found *Lycodontes*, or wolves' teeth; *Conichthyodontes*, or tusks of sea animals;

Icthyperia, or palates of fishes; all of which cramp names with their *icons*, may be seen in Hill's Nat. Hist. Vol. I. There are also found at the same place, (but in different strata) *Echini*, *Ovarii*, *Cordati*, *Clypiati*, &c. a variety of *Anomia Chamæ*; oysters in abundance, of a crooked form, which has given them the name of the sickle oyster: belemnites, nautilites, jaws of fishes with the teeth perfect in them; bones of quadrupeds, ribs, vertebræ, &c. some of birds; the medullary cavities being larger than the others, they are more frequently compressed, I suppose, by the general subsidence of matter at the deluge. American ferns are also found in this slate-stone, with other vegetables. The plant on one side, and the impression on the other, has a pretty effect, and is a sure proof that the matter which formed the stone was once in a fluid state. It would take up more room than you have to spare, to enumerate all the varieties that are found in this slate-stone, and the strata above it.

About three months since, there was found in the same stratum, the thigh-bone of some large animal; it is twenty-seven inches long, and by computation, (for it is bedded in stone) about 16 or 18 inches in circumference. One half of the bone is clear, and one end entirely detached from the stone, and perfect; so that it may be looked upon as a capital fossil, and a great rarity. I suppose it to be the thigh bone of the *Hippopotamus*, or sea-horse, though I have but little judgment in osteology.

I formerly met with two pieces of bone, and some vertebræ of the same kind, and of a proportionable bulk, at the same place, which are now in the collection of a gentleman in London.

All the way from the abovementioned village to Oxford, which is ten miles, the different strata abound with plenty of fossils: and this famous seat of learning is surrounded with still greater variety, and, if possible, more curious; so that one would imagine providence had placed it in the midst of these natural rarities, to exercise and divert the minds of the curious, after their close attention to things of greater importance.

This city has on the north side, large beds of gravel, of singular use in making those beautiful walks and gardens in and about it, which are kept in very great order by the University. In this gravel are found porpites, fungites, astroites, and such like coralloid bodies. Pectines, anomia, ostracites, &c. are also found in it.

Near the east gate of this city, and in St. Clement's adjoining, the gravel beds are lost, and we find a stratum of

blue clay, which produces oysters of a different kind from those found in gravel, being remarkable for the convexity of their shells. Along with these oysters are found belemnitæ, ammonitæ, very small, and saturated with pyritical matter, which gives them a kind of shining-like armature.

On the south side of St. Clement's, the gravel appears again, and abounds with much the same fossils as those on the north side of Oxford. Hard by, in Cowley-Common, are found gryphitæ, or the crooked-bill oyster of a very large size, and very thick, broader in the margin than those usually called by that name. They are remarkable for shewing the several laminæ or stages of their growth, being at first no bigger than a vetch, and proceeding to the size of six inches diameter. Either the world was less populous, or the use of oysters less known in the antediluvian times, than now; for we never find any recent shells arrived to that growth.*

Bullington Green, Headington Heath, Shotover quarries, and the stone-pits at Garsington, all adjacent, are equally replete with great variety of very curious fossils, such as pectines, great and small, echini, belemnitæ, pholades, coralloides, shrimps, claws and other parts of crabs; pinnæ marinæ, oysters remarkably large and flat, (found recently in Virginia;) nautilitæ, cochlitæ, in abundance; a remarkably small serated tree-oyster, auriculares, vertebræ, jaws and teeth of animals, ammonitæ of various kinds, some turbins, strombi, and great plenty of mycetites, astroites, &c.

To close the whole, in our Museum we have the collections of Plot and Lhuyd, which contain great variety both of native and extraneous fossils, which now appear to great advantage, being lately reduced under their proper classes by their present keeper, a gentleman in every respect qualified for the work.

I am, yours, &c.

1757, *March.*

A. B.

* Some Rock-oysters are perhaps an exception to this observation.

XXVI. On the *Coluber* of Virgil.*Qualis ubi in lucem coluber, mala gramina pastus.*VIRG. *Æn.* ii. 471.

MR. URBAN,

BY *coluber* is here meant not the common snake, but the viper, as is evident from the poet's supposing him to be replete with poison, acquired by feeding upon noxious herbs, whereas the snake is entirely destitute of poison. The venom, in his opinion, was gotten by the serpent's living upon deleterious plants, which is a great mistake, for the viper is carnivorous. However, in the *Georgics*, lib. iii. 425. et seq. he shews, that he was well aware that the *chersydros* of Calabria, a poisonous species of serpents, lived upon animal food, such as fish and frogs.

It has been thought, till of late, that the viper had a fascinating power, whereby it charmed its prey into its mouth, being neither quick in its motion, nor having any feet to assist it in the management of any animal that could struggle with it for its life. And it is certain, that this opinion receives great countenance from two papers in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. xxxi. one by Paul Dudley, and the other by Sir Conrad Sprengell. But the truth is now found to be, as appears by a later narrative from North America, and inserted likewise in the *Transactions*, that the rattle-snake, which is a species of the viper, gets his prey in this manner. He first bites the animal, and at the same instant the poison pressed out of a bag at the roots of his fangs, runs, through an aperture in the fangs, into the wound; after this he keeps his eye upon the creature, and waits for the operation of the instilled poison; and when it has brought on the death of the animal, he then begins to lick it, and prepare it for deglutition. This is the provision which the all-wise providence has contrived for the subsistence of a serpent, destined to live upon animal food, but incapable otherwise of contending with a creature of any vivacity or strength. But then I would ask, what is it that the common snake lives upon, and how does he get his living? He has many of the properties of the adder or viper, but wants his poison; for I presume it is generally agreed, that the snake is harmless. He is slow, he coils himself, he casts his skin, he sleeps in winter, and is as unable to cope with a

living animal as the viper is. It is said, indeed, that frogs and other creatures have been found in his belly; but the truth of this is what I am desirous of knowing, and as this is the season for their making their appearance after the sleep of the winter, I shall be obliged to any curious naturalist, that will open a few of them this spring, and look into their stomachs, to inform us what he finds there, for at present I can hardly think, if he feeds upon animal food at all, that it can be any thing more than worms or insects; for since he is not armed with poison, it is very difficult to conceive how he can master and manage any larger animal, though his gullet, I suppose, is as capable of distention for the swallowing either of a mouse or small bird, as is the viper's.

Yours, &c.

1757, *March*.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXVII. On the Phenomenon of Dew.

THE dispute concerning the origin of dew seems as yet to be left undetermined. Some philosophers have insisted that it falls from the middle region of the air, others as strenuously assert that it rises from the bowels of the earth in vapour, which never reaches the middle region of the air, but falls back condensed into water, after having risen a comparatively small distance above the earth's surface.

The former of these allege, in favour of their opinion, "that it is most natural; that we see the rain, which is of the same nature with dew, descending from the superior regions; and consequently ought not to suppose that the dew has any other origin, since it differs no otherwise from *small rain*, or *misting*, than in degree. That the atmosphere is continually replete with a vast quantity of vapours; and that, when the solar heat is withdrawn, the cold which occupies the superior regions immediately condenses and precipitates them, if not dissipated by the wind, in form of dew; and that those bubbles or vesicules, though imperceptible to us while separate, easily gather into larger drops (when they fall) by their own attraction; and are, in that state, found on grass, and on the herbs of the field and garden, in the morning, where they remain till they are again exhaled by the sun."

Those of the contrary party say, "That exhalations are continually flying off from the earth; being raised either by

the solar or subterraneous heat, or both. That these evaporations do not cease even in the night.—That, during the heat of the day, these vapours, being specifically lighter than the circumambient air, are dissipated in their ascent; but, in the night, they rise not far above the ground, being immediately condensed and precipitated again by the cold. That though they cannot boast of the universality of their opinion, yet they hope it is established upon a surer foundation than the other; as they have had recourse to experiments, the most rigid tests of truth. That M. Dufay, in particular, being resolved to try the grand question whether dew did or did not first ascend in vapour, reduced it to this simple process. He considered, that if the dew did ascend, it must wet a body placed *lower*, sooner than one placed *higher*, and its *under* part sooner than its *upper*; and, upon these principles, he tried the following experiments. He placed two ladders, with their tops resting against each other, their feet at a considerable distance, and their height 32 feet. To the steps of these ladders he fastened squares of glass, in such a manner as not to hang over each other. On trial, he found it exactly as he expected; the lower surface of the lowest square being first wetted, then its upper surface; then the lower surface of the second square; and so on gradually through the whole series."

These are some of the strongest arguments produced on each side in confirmation of each hypothesis. But perhaps neither side has been so fortunate as, upon the whole, to hit upon the true account, nor examined it so narrowly as to preclude any future discoveries. I am, however, apt to believe, after repeated trials, that part of the dew does really *fall*. I say part, for I hope to make it appear that a great deal of it, perhaps one half, except in thick foggy nights, *rises*. But when I say, *rises*, let it be noted that I do not mean in form of *vapour*; but in manner of *perspiration* from grass, plants, and other herbage; the truth of which position the following experiments will, I hope, in a great measure, put beyond dispute.

EXPER. I. About an hour before sun-set, I inverted a large tub or vat upon some fine fresh grass, and stopped it so close at the bottom that it could have no communication with the external air. Upon examination in the morning I found the grass *under* the tub, to my surprise, charged as plentifully with dew, as that which was *uncovered* all around it: but the spherules or drops, though equal in size, were only on the *summits* of the blades.—N. B. In a windy night there is seldom any dew, or very little; but the wind never affects the

covered grass at all ; the drops being as large then, as at any other time.

II. The former experiment I repeated, but with this addition ; under the tub, I suspended a large pane of glass horizontally about a foot, and a little tuft of wool at the same distance, from the ground ; I also suspended another pane of glass, and another little tuft of wool over the tub, exposed to the air. In the morning I found the grass as before. The glass and wool *under* the vessel perfectly dry ; but that *over* it very wet.

III. Made a great many trials on some gross garden plants, such as cabbages, coleworts, brocoli, and several others of the same species, by covering them with the same vessel. In the morning the edges of their leaves were always charged with large round drops ; each drop dependant from the *extremity* of one of its *ribs* or *fibres*. When I traced my finger over the surface of the leaf, I could not be certain whether it was wet or not ; but the *surfaces* of those that were *uncovered* were bedewed very plentifully.

IV. About ten o'clock in the forenoon, when the dew was all exhaled, and the grass quite dry, I inverted the tub again ; taking care always, if it was not in a *shady* place, to cover it with something that might hinder the sun-beams from penetrating ; and, in a few hours time, I found the summits of every blade of grass, *except those that were withered*, laden with as large drops, as they would have been in the same space of time in the *night*, or perhaps larger. This experiment always succeeded in perfect regularity.

V. At mid-day I made the same experiment on some of the before-mentioned *plants*. The result was the same with Exp. III. but the drops were *larger*, and none were discernible either on the upper or under surfaces.

VI. Exposed a square of glass, some pieces of cloth, wool, dry wood, &c. on the top of a building, about 60 feet from the ground ; all which in the morning, were very copiously wetted on their *upper* surfaces, but not *underneath*.

From these experiments, particularly the 2nd and 6th, and part of the 3d, it appears, that some parts of the dew *actually falls* ; and, from the 1st, 4th, and 5th, and part of the 2d and 3d, that no small quantity of it *rises* ; that is, perspires. It appears also from the 4th, that it *rises* by perspiration from the plants themselves, for if it had risen in vapour from the earth, it would have been found on the withered blades as well as the rest.

It seems to be a point pretty well agreed, by the naturalists, that there is a *circulation*, or distribution, of the sap, or

nutritious juices, in vegetables, something similar or analogous to that of the blood in *animal bodies*: and if so, why may not the vegetables, as well as the animals, have some way or other of *sweating out the redundant juices*? That there is indeed something in *all* of them analogous to perspiration in animals is highly probable; but that it is *sensible* in some, the 4th and 5th experiments *plainly evince*. And of these *secretions* we should be witnesses, *day* as well as *night*, did not the sun at that time exhale the moisture as fast as it exsudes, nay several times faster; for when the heat is extreme, it exhausts the vessels of their nutrimental juice to such a degree, that the plant languishes and droops till the sun retires, and the *waste* is again made up by a fresh supply from the root. It seems to be these secretions which keep the common cabbage fresh and cool in the very hottest day; for did it not *evacuate* this *cooling fluid* in such large quantities, being such a gross and succulent plant, it would quickly *languish* and become quite *flaccid*. Of the truth of this any one may be convinced, by cutting one directly through the middle; for upon examining the several *plicatures* or *folds*, they will be found *plentifully stored* with drops of dew.

But the most remarkable instance of evacuations of this kind, in plants, is the *nepenthes*. At the extremities of the leaves of this plant are certain vessels of a considerable bigness, on purpose to receive and preserve the *superfluous juices*, which it discharges in great abundance. A particular account of this *wonderful plant* may be seen in the 25th No. of Eden; from which I shall make the following extract, as it is very much to my purpose. “Glands of the secretory kind are very common in plants, though rarely conspicuous. They cover the whole stalk in the diamond *masembryanthemum*; in the *urena*, they are situated on the back of the leaf; and, in the *sundew*, on its upper surface. All these *secrete* a watery fluid, but it is in few instances that it is detained in a kind of vessel. We see it so, however, in the leaves of the *saracena*; in the *maregravia* it is lodged in a kind of vessel raised from the centre of the umbel; and in the *nepenthes*, not in the leaf itself, but in a peculiar *appendage*. We see the *sundew*, a minute plant, throw out its redundant moisture in big round drops. In the *Æthiopian calla*, when over-supplied with water, the fine and slender extremities of the leaves sweat out the load in a continual succession: this Comeline saw in Holland, as well as several persons in England. In the *American hart’s-tongue*, the

same incident propagates the plant. The fine and small end of the leaf is bent to the earth by the weight of the drop it gradually secretes; another and another follows, as it remains in that situation, and the plant, being full of life, takes root there, and produces a new stock, itself fixed to the earth by roots at each extremity. These are known instances of a secretion of this kind, though not generally understood; and this in the *nepenthes* is little more. It grows in thick forests, where its long fibres supply it well with water, and where no sun comes to exhale it."

1757, Oct.

A. B.

XXVIII. Observations on the Gossamer.

I DO not remember to have met with a full and clear account, in any ancient or modern writer, of a remarkable phenomenon in nature, commonly called the *Gossamer*. I hope, therefore, the following remarks will not be unacceptable to the public, especially to the lovers of natural philosophy.

The *gossamer* is a fine filmy substance, like cobwebs, which is seen to float in the air, in clear sunny days in autumn; but much more observable in stubble-fields, and upon furze, and other low bushes. I often used to wonder from whence such a quantity of those fine threads could come, which I had frequently taken notice of in the stubble-fields about Wandsworth, and on the furze bushes on Wimbledon and Putney commons. Yet I thought, that, as they had the appearance of the work of *spiders*, I might find some such creatures in, or about them. I examined, therefore, the ground in the stubbles, and the bushes, on which they hung the thickest, with great diligence, but could not discover any thing like spiders in those places, though I concluded there must be thousands of them somewhere, to be capable of making such multitudes of fine webs, and sometimes for many days together. Now it happened that awhile after (not having been able to satisfy myself in my inquiries on this subject) as I was reading over Mr. Ray's letters, I found what I had been puzzling myself about so long to no purpose.

That sagacious naturalist, about the year 1668, in a letter

which he wrote to Dr. Lister *, tells him, that he had been informed by a friend, that some spiders threw out, or darted, their webs from them to a considerable distance obliquely, and not straight downwards; adding, he could not conceive how that could be done, seeing their threads are very fine and soft, and not stiff like a stick. To this Dr. Lister answers †, that in the foregoing September, being a spider-hunting, he first observed the *aranea volucris*, or flying spider, and took notice, that she turned up her tail to the wind, and darted forth a thread several yards long; the Dr.'s original here is expressed by a comical simile, that is, *Filumque ejaculata est quo plane modo robustissimus juvenis e distentissima vesica urinam*, and this he saw afterwards confirmed by many like examples.

Some time after this, Mr. Ray informed Dr. Lister, that though he was pleased with the notices that he had given him concerning the flying spiders, he himself never doubted, but those fine cobwebs, that are seen floating in the air, were the work of spiders; and adds, that the Royal Society had received letters from the island of Bermudas, which declare, that the webs of their spiders are of a sufficient thickness and strength to entangle thrushes. But Dr. Lister, when he had read those letters from Bermudas, thought it ridiculous to suppose (as was intimated therein) that their threads were darted from their mouths; for, according to his observations, they were ejected from the *anus*, and he seems to disbelieve the story of the thrushes. He says, moreover, that he is certain these flying spiders do not traverse the expanse merely for their pleasure, but to catch gnats, and other small flies, of which there are incredible quantities in autumn in the open air. And, in another letter which Dr. Lister sent Mr. Ray, dated York, Jan. 20, 1670, he acquaints him, that, in the foregoing October, on a day when the sky was very calm and serene, he mounted to the top of the highest steeple in the Minster, and could thence discern flying spiders with their webs exceedingly high above him.

Now, though this full discovery of the flying spiders, and their operations, seems to belong to Dr. Lister, yet Dr. Hulse was the first who gave the hint to Mr. Ray of the manner of spiders shooting their threads. These observations, however, made by Dr. Lister, make it plain, I think, that the *gossamer* is formed by those spiders, at a vast height in

* See Ray's Letters, p. 34.

† P. 36—7.

the air ; and that, when it is very much rarified, or the dew falls upon their threads, they descend to the ground, or fall upon bushes, in the manner I mentioned above. Yet there remains one difficulty, which I shall be glad to see resolved, and that is, where those millions of spiders are bred ; whether they deposit their eggs on earth, or in water, or on trees, from whence they can mount to such a height in the air, to feed upon little flies, as Dr. Lister observes, that afford them such a glutinous matter for the formation of their webs, which have that sticking quality. Conjectures, in an affair of this nature, are by no means satisfactory, and I have met with no experimental observations upon their origin.

I am of opinion likewise, that this phenomenon was not known to, or at least is not described by any of the Greek or Roman naturalists. I know of no name for it in either of those languages. And those, who derive *gossamer* from *gossipium*, are led into that mistake, I believe, from the similitude of the sound ; one being the produce of a shrub, and the other the work of spiders. I rather take *gossamer* to be of a British or Saxon original. I observe, indeed, that Mr. Dryden makes use of that word, in his translation of a passage in Virgil's first Georgic, v. 397 ; but I think he is manifestly mistaken in the thing. Virgil says,

Tenuia nec lanæ per cælum tellera ferri.

Doubtless meaning thereby *fine fleecy clouds*, according to the concurrent opinion of the commentators upon that place. This Mr. Dryden incautiously renders thus :

The filmy gossamer now flits no more.

That the *gossamer* was not unknown in Chaucer's time, appears from the following lines, in his Squier's Tale :

As sore wondren some on cause of thonder,
On ebbe and floud, on gossomer, and on mist,
And on all thing til, that the cause is wist.

By which Chaucer seems to intimate, that some naturalists, in or before his time, had assigned the cause of the *gossamer*, as well as of thunder, and of the flux and reflux of the sea ; but what they made that cause is a doubt.

The fine contexture and appearance of the *gossamer* in the air is humourously described by Shakspeare, in his *Romeo and Juliet*, in these words :

A lover may bestride the gossamour
That idles in the wanton summer air,
And yet not fall; so light is vanity.

Lastly, I have not observed that this curious phenomenon has been taken notice of by any of those writers, who have given us the natural history of our counties in English; which I the more wonder at, as Dr. Plot, and some others, are very circumstantial in articles of less curiosity, and perhaps of less service, because the country people have a notion, that it is injurious to their cattle, being licked up in their feeding in the lattermaths, which is a thing worthy of a further inquiry.

1759, Aug.

WM. MASSEY.

XXIX. On the Influx of Water into the Mediterranean.

NAVIGATORS unanimously attest, that in the Straits of Gibraltar, between Cape Trafalgar, and Cape Spartel, a strong current carries the water of the Atlantic, or Spanish Sea, into the Mediterranean. This current, which is not at all times equally strong, is perceived in the Mediterranean at the distance of 20 English miles from the Straits towards the coast of Malaga. Some assure us that they have observed it at the distance of 70 miles near Cape Gaeta.

The existence of this current is confirmed by the chart of the Strait, published in 1700, by M. d'Ablancourt, who observes, that the constancy of the current is such in the middle of the Strait, that the tides make no variation in it; but that towards the two sides the water follows the ordinary laws of the flux and reflux in the 24 hours. This chart is the more to be depended upon, as it was drawn by order of the king of Portugal, from careful observations made by the most able and experienced engineers and mariners.

Hudson adds, in the Philosophical Transactions, that in the middle of the Strait, which is about 5 English miles over, the current is carried towards the Mediterranean with such rapidity, that it runs at the rate of two miles an hour, and is so deep, that the longest line of a ship of war cannot reach the bottom of it. Other relations inform us that the strength of this current will carry a ship into the Mediterranean against the wind, if it be not very high. A few years ago a celebrated admiral confirmed this fact by his own experience. But he found, at the same time, that the upper part of the

water into the Strait was indeed always carried into the Mediterranean; but that the water at bottom had a directly opposite direction, and ran from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic.

As the Mediterranean has no other sensible issue, but by the Straits of Gibraltar, and that, instead of emptying its water by this issue, it, on the contrary, continually receives fresh supplies by it, an embarrassing problem arises. Either the Mediterranean runs off by some unknown passage; or the water it receives is carried off by some secret power in nature. Mr. Kuhn adheres to the first of these opinions, and, in his treatise of the origin of springs, endeavours to prove that the Mediterranean hath a subterraneous gulf, by which its redundant water is discharged. But this supposition is confuted by facts; since it would be impossible for the water to run in with the rapidity we have just mentioned, if the Atlantic were not higher than the Mediterranean. If the two seas were of equal height, and the water of equal gravity, no reason could be assigned for the invariable direction of the current, which, according to the laws of hydrostatics, demonstrates that the Atlantic is the highest, consequently no water can run out of the Mediterranean into other seas by subterraneous channels, even supposing there were such; on the contrary, those seas would supply the Mediterranean till it should obtain the requisite height and gravity.

Nevertheless, not only the Atlantic discharges itself into this sea, but also many great rivers run into it, to which must be added the water which falls in rain: as, therefore, its water cannot have any subterraneous issue, nature must employ some other method. Some naturalists have thought evaporation sufficient; and this opinion hath gained great probability since Mariotte proved that all the rain that falls annually is not sufficient to cover the globe of the earth to the height of eighteen or twenty inches; whereas the annual evaporation is about thirty or thirty-two inches.

Supposing then that the rain which falls annually into the Mediterranean, bears the same proportion to that which evaporates as at Paris, this sea would lose annually ten or twelve inches of water more than it receives. But what is carried to it by the Atlantic Ocean and by rivers much exceeds that quantity. And if we should even carry the evaporation much further, it would not account for the influx in a satisfactory manner; for we may admit that the water of the Mediterranean, being in a warmer climate than that of Paris, suffers an evaporation of twelve or fourteen inches

more, that is to say, the quantity evaporated exceeds the rain that falls by twenty-four inches. The length of this sea is about a thousand leagues, of twenty-five to the degree, and its mean breadth may be about an hundred of those leagues; so that we can determine pretty exactly its surface to be 100,000 square leagues. For the rivers, then, to repair the annual diminution occasioned by evaporation, they must furnish, besides what is supplied by rain, a surface of 100,000 square leagues, with water to the height of twenty-four inches. Now, according to Mariotte, the river Seine, in France, furnishes annually water enough to cover 561 square leagues the height of twelve inches. Riccioli, in his *Geography Reformed*, says, that the quantity of water furnished by the Po is to that of the Seine as $26\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; so that it would cover annually, to the height of twelve inches, a surface of 14,586 square leagues; which is about the fourteenth part of the water required to repair the evaporation of the Mediterranean. It would then only remain that we should consider the other rivers which empty themselves into it, as amounting altogether to fourteen times as much as the Po. Now as Riccioli attributes to the Nile seventeen times more water than to the Po, the Nile alone would furnish five times more water than would be necessary to supply the decrease made by evaporation. Supposing therefore that Riccioli has made the quantity of water carried by rivers to this sea too much by one half, as Sedileau proves that he hath done, there will still remain enough to make up the deficiency by evaporation.

Let us suppose the breadth of the Straits of Gibraltar to be a league of 25 to the degree, and that the water runs one such league in one hour: instead of a bottomless depth, let us take a depth of 200 feet only; the Mediterranean will then receive annually by the Straits a quantity of water, of 3,723,000 square leagues, and 24 inches in height, which will raise it annually $74\frac{1}{2}$ feet. But as the velocity of the current is not at all times equal, and as it is only in the middle of the Straits that the water is constantly carried towards the Mediterranean, it being subject at each side to the flux and reflux; to which must be added, what we observed before, that the water beneath follows a contrary direction, and is carried towards the Atlantic; these circumstances will oblige us to make a considerable abatement in the quantity of water which runs through the Straits. However, we may venture to assert that the water which the Mediterranean receives annually by the Straits and by the Nile increases its height at least twenty feet.

But if we farther add the great rivers, such as the Danube, the Don, the Dneiper, the Dnister, and several others, which fall into the Black sea, and flow through the Straits of Constantinople into the Mediterranean, as also that multitude of rivers, great and small, which run on all sides into the Mediterranean, it will be evident that the height which this sea receives annually by those means cannot be less than 30 feet. That evaporation should carry off all this water, seems impossible; for in that case it would be twenty-five times stronger than at Paris, which is not situated in a cold climate. A lake of between 40 and 50 feet in depth, without any issue, would not dry up probably in a year, even under the line. M. de Buffon has nevertheless asserted, that evaporation is sufficient to carry off the surplus water which the Mediterranean receives annually. It was the authority of this celebrated naturalist that engaged M. Waiz to examine the subject with more exactness.

For this end, he considers the manner in which salt is made in the Mediterranean by natural evaporation, by receiving the water on a smooth surface to the height of an inch and a half only. This water evaporates in 24 hours, in the hottest season in the year, provided no rain falls. Dr. Hoffman tells us, that a pound of the Mediterranean water contains two lots (a lot is the 32d part of a pound) of salt: but according to the Swedish Academician's own experiments, salt water doth not deposit its salt till the evaporation is carried so far that there remain only five lots of salt to thirteen lots of fresh water. According to this calculation, evaporation on the coasts of the Mediterranean, in the hottest days, should carry off from each pound of water in the 24 hours, $24\frac{4}{5}$ lots of water, which makes two thirds of an inch and a half which the water had in depth at the beginning. In deep cavities the evaporation must be more slow. In this manner the evaporation would in 24 hours, be one inch and a half. But if we grant that this inch and a half of water is entirely evaporated in 24 hours, the salt remaining quite dry, and making the 33d part of the whole mass; the daily evaporation will then amount to $1\frac{1}{3}\frac{5}{32}$ of an inch, and the annual evaporation to $44\frac{5}{12}$ feet, if it be equally hot all the year, and no rain falls. But as the hot weather lasts for some months only, and there are few days without rain, and as there are even some whole seasons in which it rains constantly in the Mediterranean, and the evaporation is less, we cannot make the evaporation amount annually to 44 feet, especially as Lemery assures us, in his Course of Chymistry, that at Rochelle, in 15 days in the most proper season, from

water of the depth of 6 inches, there did not evaporate enough to make the salt precipitate.

This lays us under a necessity of seeking other discharges for the Mediterranean. Some have imagined that they found one in the contrary direction of the water at the surface, and that at the bottom; by virtue of which the Mediterranean should regularly furnish as much water to the Atlantic as it receives from it. This hypothesis appears at first sight repugnant to the laws of hydrostatics, especially if we suppose the water of the two seas to be equally salt, and consequently equally heavy; for water never runs but from a higher to a lower place; so that the surface and the bottom must both be carried the same way. Building on these hydrostatic truths, M. de Buffon has not scrupled positively to deny the fact, and taxes the experiments on which it is founded with falsity.

It cannot be denied, that the principles of hydrostatics furnish an argument against the existence of this double current that seems unanswerable; and our Academician would have adopted the hypothesis of evaporation, if it could have been supported. But all who know any thing of salt works, know that it is only the fresh water that evaporates, and that the salt remains. The same process is observed in making salt from the water of the Mediterranean. If then this sea had lost annually, since it first existed, this quantity of water by evaporation, it would long before now have been reduced to a vast mass of indurated salt. The sixteenth part of its water is pure salt; and by calculation, it will appear that the salt separated from the water would form in 500 years a mass of salt 250 feet high. Now according to the inquiries of Count Marsigli, many places of the Mediterranean are not of this depth: so that in the aforesaid space of time, this sea would have been wholly changed into salt, if the salt water continually emptied into it by the neighbouring seas, and no issue: but in the many thousand years since this sea has been known, not only this metamorphosis hath not taken place, but even its waters, as far as we know, are not become more salt. We are obliged therefore to give up evaporation, and seek some other expedient to get rid of its redundant water: for this end we must not wholly neglect the double current, but ascertain the fact with all possible exactness, and afterwards endeavour to reconcile it to the laws of hydrostatics.

Besides the testimonies related above, a Dutch transport vessel having been beat to pieces by a French man of war in the middle of the Straits of Gibraltar, between Tariff and

Tangier, the wreck of this vessel, with some casks and other light things, appeared after some days on the surface of the water, four English miles to the west, towards the Spanish sea. If the direction of the current were the same at bottom as on the surface, from west to east, these wrecks could not have raised themselves against the current so as to swim at top, but would have followed the declivity, which would have carried them towards the Mediterranean.

The impossibility of reaching the bottom of the Strait with the longest line, does not prove that it is without a bottom; but it is highly probable that this difficulty arises from the contrariety of the currents, which bends the line of the lead, and hinders it from getting to the bottom. Count Marsigli made the same observation in the Straits of Constantinople, where the Black Sea has its outlet; and the Turkish fishermen told him that it was always so. There are other authentic examples of opposite currents; it would be in vain therefore to deny the fact; but the natural causes of it remain to be inquired into.

In order to discover them, M. Waiz recapitulates what he had said before, namely, that the water of the Mediterranean contains much salt; secondly, that this sea being in a very warm climate, suffers a great evaporation; thirdly, that the salt is not carried off by this evaporation, but remains behind; fourthly, that salt is about three times specifically heavier than water; fifthly, that salt water is so much diminished by evaporation, that 18 lots of water contain 5 lots of salt, and the water is then much heavier. The author found by his own experiments, that the weight of salt water becomes five times greater before the salt begins to crystalize.

As then there is a continual and copious discharge of salt water into the Mediterranean, and that a great part of this water deposits its salt by evaporation, what is left always remains more salt, and consequently more weighty. Supposing then the surface of the two seas, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, to be equal, their gravity would not be equal; but the water of the Mediterranean, as the more weighty, would press on that of the Atlantic, and the two seas would run together through the Straits till their waters became of equal weight; so that the Mediterranean would necessarily be lowest. When this happens, the water of the Atlantic, which is highest, cannot take its course through the Strait but by a higher current, by means of which it spreads itself in the Mediterranean; but this would augment the weight, already the greatest, of the water of the latter, which cannot get away, but by opening itself a passage underneath, and

forming an inferior opposite current in the Straits. This is sufficient to produce the two currents, and to perpetuate them without interruption.

There is an experiment which confirms the agreement of this hypothesis with the laws of hydrostatics. Take a long box, divide it into two by a board fixed in the middle, let there be a small hole in the board, which you can shut at pleasure. Fill one end of the box with water, and the other with oil to an equal height. On hastily opening the hole in the board that divides them, the water, which is heaviest, will be seen to run into that end of the box where the oil is. On the contrary, the oil will be carried in the same manner, and at the same time into that end where the water is, over which it will spread itself. It may indeed be objected, that as oil cannot mix with water, it must get at top; but the same thing happens to two waters of unequal gravity, when one is coloured and much saltier than the other. If the box be made of glass instead of wood, you will have a distinct idea of the two opposite currents.

The air in like circumstances acts exactly like water, and it is easy to make the experiment. Let there be two rooms with a door from one to the other; let one room be warmed that the air in it may dilate itself and become lighter, this will be the Atlantic. The other cold room, the air of which is not so thin and light, will represent the Mediterranean; let the door, which is the Strait between the two seas, be opened, and a lighted candle placed on the threshold, whilst another is held at the top; it will be seen by the flames of these two candles that the cold air passes from the cold room into the hot at bottom towards the threshold; and the warm air into the cold room at top. The warm air soon cools in the cold room, but the heat of the warm room being kept up by a fire, the double current of the air will appear very evident for some time, till the air of the two chambers be equally warm, and consequently, equally heavy.

If there be a warm room on each side of a large cold room, the same thing will happen at the two doors, that is to say, the cold air will enter at bottom, and the warm at top. This explains what Count Marsigli says of the currents in the Straits of Constantinople, where the salt water of the Mediterranean enters at bottom into the Black Sea, and is there rendered lighter by the quantity of fresh water that runs into it; after which it flows again, in the same Strait, above the salt water, into the Mediterranean; as is seen in the Strait of Gibraltar. The currents are stronger at Constantinople than

at Gibraltar, because the difference in the degrees of saltiness of the water, which comes in, and that which goes out, is greater, namely, according to Marsigli as 73 to 62, whereas it is not so great in the Straits of Spain.

There is one very plausible objection to this theory, namely, that as the Atlantic sea is in the same climate with the Mediterranean, the evaporation must be the same in both; and consequently their water be of the same gravity, especially if we consider the great quantity of fresh water which so many rivers carry into the Mediterranean. To this it is answered, that it is well known that the sea is less salt towards the poles than near the equator; an invariable current brings this fresher water from the poles towards the equator; some large rivers, as the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir, empty themselves at the two sides of it at the same time, and pass by the Strait with their fresh water to run into the Spanish sea; and lastly, a daily flux and reflux incessantly agitate and mix these waters from top to bottom: these different circumstances united, shew that the water of the Atlantic cannot be so salt as the Mediterranean, the evaporation of which continually augments its weight and saltiness.

What we have said above of a perpetual current running from the poles to the line, is supported by sufficient authorities. Navigators attest that they always go quicker in this, than in the contrary direction, and they every year see large shoals of ice carried from the north to the south. Several causes may contribute to the formation of this current, and it may be proved that the water it carries along doth not contain much salt. When the water freezes it becomes lighter, and the ice swims at top. Though this ice be composed of salt water there is but very little salt in it, as might be shewn by many experiments, and by what happens in salt works. On these shoals of ice from salt water, there fixes a quantity of snow, rain, vapours, &c. the wind drives these shoals upon one another till they form vast mountains of ice. When these mountains come to melt, they produce an immense quantity of fresh water, which does not easily mix with the salt, but remains at top. It cannot flow back towards the Poles, where there is still more ice and fresh water; it is therefore continually carried to the south, where the water is salter, and consequently lower.

In fine, it remains only to inquire, why, on the two sides of the Straits of Gibraltar the current of water is subject to the flux and reflux, and does not run into the Mediterranean, as in the middle. Ships coming from the Mediterranean are

wont to observe this current, and commonly keep on the African side, to wait for and follow it; partly because the coast is less dangerous, and partly because the flux and reflux is much greater than on the Spanish side. These side currents prove the possibility of several currents existing at one time in the same channel, running one below another, and in contrary directions.

When two drops of water touch, and unite according to the laws of attraction and cohesion, if one be considerably larger than the other, and be put in motion, it draws the other to it, and carries it along. A current is nothing else, but a multitude of cohering drops in motion; it must therefore carry with it a part of the water on its sides.

1760, Feb.

XXX. Immense Chesnut Tree at Tamworth.

MR. URBAN,

AS your monthly labours will be records to ages to come, I submit the following calculation of the age of a celebrated chesnut tree, which in all probability is the oldest, if not the largest tree in England, being 52 feet round, to be transmitted by your means to posterity.

This eminent tree is the property of the Rt. Hon. Lord Dacre, at Totsworth, alias Tamworth, Gloucestershire.

I may with reason fix its rising from the nut in the reign of Egbert, anno 800. *From this date*, to attain to such maturity and magnitude, as to be a signal tree, for a boundary or land-mark, called, by way of distinction, the great chesnut tree at Tamworth, in the reign of King Stephen, I cannot allow less age than 335 years, which brings it down to the first year of King Stephen, anno 1135; from this date, we are certain of its age by record to the present year, 1762; 627 years.—In all 962 years.

Mr. Evelyn, in his fifth edition, has this remarkable passage relating to this tree, viz. *Boundaries to great parishes, and gentlemen's estates*; famous for which, is that great chesnut at Tamworth, in Gloucestershire, which has continued a signal boundary to that manor from King Stephen's time, as it stands on record.

If any regard is to be paid to the three periods given to oak and chesnut, viz. 300 years growing, 300 years standing, and 300 years decaying, it favours my conjecture, that this

stately old chesnut tree is very little less, possibly more, than a thousand years old; and yet such vigour remains, it bore nuts anno 1759; from them young trees are raised.

Yours, &c.

1762, Feb.

P. C.

XXXI. Remarkable Phenomenon of the Bath Waters.

A Letter from Dr. D. W. Linden, to Dr. Sutherland, at the Hot Wells, Bristol, concerning a remarkable Phenomenon of the Bath Waters.

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your request, I send you a brief account of my last examination of the Bath waters. The phenomenon which most struck me, were certain cakes, of a blackish colour, which at this time of the year are found floating upon the surface of these waters, and which I had never seen before, having been at Bath only in the winter months, when they do not appear. I had, indeed, heard much of them, and was told that they were a vegetable substance, the *conferva gelatinosa*; but, upon examination, I found this to be a mistake, and that the black cakes were mineral.

That they are not the *conferva gelatinosa* is manifest, from their appearing so early as the beginning of May; for the *conferva* does not appear till July, and it does not flower till August. Besides, the *conferva* is found only on stagnant waters; and it is absurd to suppose that a mineral hot spring should have any communication with a standing pool, whence it should receive this plant, as it could not receive the plant without such a mixture of the water as would render it cold, and annihilate its virtue: that the Bath water cannot originally produce the plant, is certain; for it is continually in a state of agitation, which renders the growth of it impossible.

Upon a close examination of these cakes, some of which have a greenish hue, I found that those which had lain near the wall for some time undisturbed, had caused a natural crystallization of the salts in the Bath water; and these salts, on some of the walls in the Abbey-house spring, were more than half an inch thick; such a crystallization could not be caused by a vegetable substance.

Having now shewn what these cakes are not, I will tell you what they are; for, upon applying the common vitrioline

solvent, I found them to be neither more nor less than the *mucilagium ferri*, or slimy substance, that is always a concomitant of iron-stone, iron-earth, or iron-ore; if there is any medical virtue in iron, it ought to be sought in this slimy substance; and I shall shew, in a treatise on the Bath waters, which I am now preparing for the press, that the Bath waters derive great medical efficacy from these cakes, especially in external applications.

Those persons who have supposed these cakes to be vegetable, have been deceived into that opinion, by the solid fibrous parts which they have discovered in them, after having washed them from the mud and other extraneous bodies, that have been found mixed with them. But those who are acquainted with practical mineralogy, a science which is essentially necessary to those who undertake the analysis of mineral waters, know, that the slimy substance in iron-ore, when agitated in waters that contain salt, will form itself into fibres and branches, resembling those of vegetables; and upon this principle it is, that, in curious chymistry, small branches and fibres are formed in liquids by the solution of metals and minerals, and have obtained the name of *philosophical trees*.

Some experiments, indeed, have been made upon these cakes, by distillation; and it has been presumed, that they are vegetable, because they yield only an insipid water, without any metalline or mineral particles; but this is wholly fallacious and inconclusive; for the *mucilagium ferri*, or any other metal or mineral, mixed with common or saline water, will, in distillation, yield only an insipid water, without mineral particles, because these particles are prevented from rising in the steam, by their own weight.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1762, May.

D. W. LINDEN.

XXXII. Account of Fires kindled of themselves.*

THE great consumption of sea-coal in the port of Brest made it necessary to form a kind of magazine, constructed of timber and planks rudely joined together, where many hundred chaldron were kept piled in a vast mass, and constantly exposed to the weather. No accident was ever

* From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Paris.

known to happen from this manner of keeping coals since it was first used, which was about the year 1681. But some persons took it into their heads, that coal thus exposed to the weather lost some of its quality, and that it would be better to keep it under cover.

While they were deliberating upon the form of the new magazine, somebody remarked that it would be proper to leave a considerable space between the top of the coals and the roof of the building in which they were to be kept, that there might be sufficient room for fresh air; because it frequently happened, that this coal took fire when shut close down in the hold of the vessels that brought it, if the voyage happened to be longer than usual, or the weather so bad that they could not open the scuttles: this opinion, however, was not regarded; the new magazine was built very close and compact, and covered in at the top: it was divided into two equal parts, within, by a wall; one division being called the Magazine, No. I. and the other the Magazine, No. II.

No. I. was filled quite to the top, and contained about twelve hundred chaldron: in a very short time afterwards it took fire, which was perceived by the smoke that came out at the chinks of the door. As soon as the door was opened, the smoke burst out in great black clouds, and the labourers, who had been ordered to get the coal out, were obliged to throw great quantities of water upon it, before they could begin to work.

They found a rafter of deal, which was within the building near the door, half burnt; and a beam which the coal touched, in the same condition; they had not flamed, but were burnt quite through to a cinder: the coals that lay on the top of the heap were only warmed by the smoke that had passed through them, but those in the middle had lost their inflammability, and were reduced to a kind of calx; and near the bottom they had suffered no injury, nor even contracted the least heat. About half the coals were then taken out of this magazine; the good were separated from the damaged, and part of them put back again, and the rest put into the other magazine.

It was now a second time proposed to give the magazines air; and it was urged, that though the coal should not again take fire, yet it would probably grow hot, and lose part of its quality; but the magazine was already built, and they thought all accidents would be effectually prevented, by not filling the magazine to the top; but a great quantity of coals arriving soon after in the port, and not daring to lay

them up in the magazine that had once taken fire already, they yet foolishly filled the other magazine with it quite to the top, without considering that this magazine was then in the same circumstances as those which had caused the accident that happened to the other; the consequence was, that this magazine also in a very short time took fire, and would have done the same damage if it had not been sooner discovered; the top of the heap being hot, the middle in part consumed, and the bottom unaltered. Add to this account another most remarkable instance of the same kind.

The sail cloth generally used in France is made of coarse hempen thread; after it is woven, it is wetted, and shrunk, as we do our drab cloth, and is then painted on one side only, with red ochre ground with oil.*

On the 18th of July, 1757, the workmen had painted about fourscore yards of this cloth; and the weather being very hot, the sun dried it very soon: on the 20th, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the weather changed, and a sudden storm of thunder and rain being expected, the sail-cloth which had been thus milled and painted, was very hastily folded up while it was yet very hot, by having laid exposed to the sun, the folds being so managed that the painted side did not come in contact with the other, but with itself only; the folds were pressed very close, that the cloth might lie in the least compass possible, and it was then put up in bales, and deposited, one upon another, in the warehouse, upon a kind of iron grating, the squares of which were about three inches wide, and which was about a foot from the ground: this warehouse is level with the ground, but floored; and it is the custom to place a kind of brasiers, or close chafing dishes of lighted small coal-dust under the grating, to keep the cloth that lies in bales over it perfectly dry, lest being moist in the middle, it should rot; and the warehouse is every night close shut up.

On the 22d, about four in the evening, one of the workmen having been lying some time upon these bales, found them very hot, and putting his hand into one of them be-

* The experiment frequently repeated at St. John's Gate, by mixing a brown earth, found in the mines in Derbyshire, with linseed oil, is worth noting upon this occasion: the result was, that, upon grinding the two bodies together, upon a stone, the whole mass took fire and burnt with a most intense heat till the oil was consumed, and nothing but the dry earth remained. May not other earthy substances so mixed, produce the same effect? It was by grinding this earth with oil to make a paint, that its inflammable quality was discovered.

tween the plaits, it burnt him. The supervisor being immediately acquainted with this accident, caused the bales to be brought out into the air, and upon opening them they sent out a thick smoke: some pretended that they saw a flame, but it is probable that they saw only the sun's rays reflected from the smoke.

It was at first suspected that these bales had been set on fire; the grating was therefore taken up; but after the strictest search, no appearance of fire was found, and it appeared that the suspicion was wholly groundless upon a farther inspection of the bales, for the fire had manifestly begun in the centre of each bale, the outward parts of them having received no injury: the plaits that had been pressed closest by the cord were most damaged, being burnt to a cinder, so as to crumble between the fingers.

Some of the old workmen declared, that the same thing had happened many years ago; but that, conceiving it impossible for the bales to take fire of themselves, they had concealed the accident, for fear of being taxed with negligence, and punished accordingly.

That hay, put up wet, will take fire, is well known to our farmers; and many fires have happened by rain falling on unslacked lime.

1763, *Jan.*

XXXIII. On the prodigious Growth of Trees.

THERE are giants in the vegetable, as well as the animal kingdom. For proof of which, I shall here recite what I have observed in my reading, concerning monstrous trees, that have deserved the particular notice of travellers and naturalists.

Thevenot, in his *Travels*, A.D. 1656, Part I. Chap. 71, tells us, that in the island of Coos, which the Turks call *Stranchio*, and *Lango*, or *Isola Longa*, there is a tree of such a vast extent, that it can easily cover two thousand men, and that the branches of it are supported by several stone and wooden pillars, there being under it several barbers' shops, coffee-houses, and such like, with many benches to sit on. This tree is like a sycamore, but the fruit it bears is like a chesnut, and serves for tanning of leather.

Dr. Plot, in his *History of Staffordshire*, Chap. vi. says, that there was, A. D. 1686, an *apple tree* within the moat at the parsonage house at Leigh, in that county, that spread about 54 yards in circumference, which allowing four square feet for a man, would shelter 500 foot men under its branches. This, indeed, is but small in comparison of the tree above-mentioned by Thevenot, provided he was exact in the measuring of it, and observed the same proportion for the standing of his men; but it is an amazing growth for an *apple tree*.

A *pearmain*, in New England, at a foot from the ground, measured ten feet and four inches round, and it bore one year 38 bushels. See Eames's *Abridg. Phil. Trans.* Part II. p. 342.

The dimensions, likewise, of the Witch-Elm that grew at Field, in Staffordshire, are really wonderful; of which Dr. Plot, in the aforesaid history of that county, in the 6th chapter, gives us the following particulars: 1. That it fell 120 feet—40 yards in length. 2. That the stool, or but-end, was 5 yards and 2 feet in diameter, and 17 yards in circumference. 3. That it was 8 yards 18 inches, or 25 feet and a half about by girth-measure in the middle. 4. That it contained 100 ton at least of neat timber; but, as far as I can inform myself, *fir trees* grow the highest of any; for we are told, that in the Canton of Berne, in Switzerland, there are some above 76 yards high. I have not read nor heard of any other trees, or in any other place, that really equal those in talness.

Pliny says, in his *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 32. that in the Fortunate Islands, (now called the Canaries) there are trees that grow to the height of 144 feet. But he does not tell us what kind of trees they are; yet, in another place, viz. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xvi. c. 39. he says that the *larch tree* and *fir tree* grow to be the tallest and straightest of all trees. What he mentions in the next chapter of trees, so thick that they require three or four men to grasp them, is a very indeterminate way of speaking, neither can we easily credit what he reports of the German pirates, that they used boats made hollow out of one single tree, that would each of them hold thirty men; at least, we must conceive them to be made out of trees of a prodigious trunk. It also appears by this, that canoes were in use in the northern climates long before America was discovered. There seems likewise a little too much of the *marvellous*, where he informs us (*Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. ch. 2.) that in India there are trees of such a height, that a man cannot shoot an arrow to the top of them; and

that a troop of horse may be ranged under one of their *fig trees*.

But let us come nearer home, and we may find trees that are really wonderful, without any exaggeration. In Mr. J. Ray's *Life*, by Dr. Derham, published by George Scott, F.R.S. we have the following remarkable paragraph:—"Octob. 14, 1669, (says he) we rode to see the famous fir trees, some two miles and a half distant from Newport, in a village called Wareton, in Shropshire, in the land of Mr. Skrimshaw. There are of them 35 in number, very tall and straight, without any boughs till towards the top. The greatest, which seems to be the mother of the rest, we found by measure to be fourteen feet and a half round the body, and they say 56 yards high, which to me seemed not incredible.

At Totsworth, (alias Tamworth) in Gloucestershire, there is a chesnut-tree, which, in all probability, is the oldest, if not the largest in England, being 52 feet round. This tree is said to have stood there ever since the reign of King Stephen, A. D. 1150.

Keysler, in his *Travels*, Vol. IV. p. 459, tells us, that there is a *hazel tree* to be seen (A.D. 1731) in Mr. Hassel's garden, in the city of Frankfort, of which their annals make mention above 200 years ago. The lower part of its trunk is seven Frankfort ells* in circumference; its height is equal to that of the houses near it, and it still bears nuts every year, but the tree now begins to decay.

Yours,

1763, Aug.

W. MASSEY.

XXXIV. On Archbishop Secker's Death, and the Brittleness of Human Bones in Frosts.

MR. URBAN,

ACCORDING to the excellent memoirs you have given us of Abp. Secker, in your last number, a very extraordinary accident befel him but a few days before he died. The account goes thus, that as he was turning himself on his couch, he broke his thigh-bone. It was immediately set, but it

* A Frankfort ell is about 2 feet 3 inches.

soon appeared there were no hopes of his recovery. After his death it was found, that the thigh-bone was quite carious, and that the excruciating pains he so long felt, were owing to the gradual corrosion of this bone, by some acrimonious humour.

The Archbishop was in his seventy-fifth year. Now it is related in the Life of Dr. Ralph Bathurst, who died in his eighty-fourth year, that his death was occasioned by the like accident of breaking his thigh, while he was walking in his garden. And it is added on the occasion, "It is said that at first, and for some time, he refused to submit to the operations of the surgeon, declaring, in his tortures, that there was *no marrow in the bones of an old man*.*" Dr. Bathurst was bred a physician, and was of great eminence in his profession, insomuch that some regard, as it should seem, ought to be paid to a declaration of this kind coming from him, and yet I vehemently suspect the truth of it, on account of what here follows. At Christmas, 1767, an old gentlewoman confined to her bed by illness, and in the 85th year of her age, had occasion in the night to make use of the bason, and being very weak and helpless, she tumbled upon the floor as she was endeavouring to reach it, and broke her arm. She had a fever upon her at the time, and yet this notwithstanding, as likewise notwithstanding her weakness and extreme old age,† the arm was set and united well, and in a reasonable time; and she had tolerable good use of it for many months before she died, which was on the 20th of October last. In short, the affirmation or supposition rather, of Dr. Bathurst, appears to me to be a subject that ought to be inquired into by those who have opportunities of making the trial.

1768, Nov.

T. Row.

MR. URBAN,

IT is a common notion, and in all parts, for I have heard it from many mouths, and in many places, that our bones are most brittle in frosty weather. This is a difficult matter, at best, to prove, and I imagine the observation has nothing to support it, but the frequency of fractures at such seasons. But now, Sir, if this be the whole foundation of it, this one particular will scarcely bear the weight that is laid upon it.

* Warton's Life of Ralph Bathurst, p. 182.

† She was older, you observe, than either the Archbishop or Dr. Bathurst.

For first, men are most liable to slip then, and consequently more fall than common. Secondly, falls are violent upon sudden slips. Thirdly, the limbs are often thrown into unnatural positions by such slips; and lastly, the ground in frosts is hard, and impinging with force against it when it is in such a state, must endanger the bones more than at any other time, and occasion the more fractures. In short, the external constitution of the air may have effect on the surface of our bodies, as to the pores, and the affections of heat and cold, but that the internal *stamina* of the bones and the substance of *them* should be altered in respect of cohesion, of induration on one part, and pliability on the other, is a thing difficult to conceive. And quære, whether a degree of cold sufficient to effect that would not immediately induce death? For my part I cannot apprehend how the flesh, the *periosteum*, the blood, and even some of the vital parts could stand it. I will not pretend to say how the case may be with a dry, dead, uncovered bone, lying exposed to the ambient air in a severe frost; but surely, if the substance of a human bone can be so penetrated by an excess of cold, as to suffer an alteration in the cohesion of its parts, the marrow of such bone must be in a manner damaged and destroyed.

It is true the bones of old people do break with the greatest facility, and from the slightest causes, as appears from the two cases of Archbishop Secker and Dr. Bathurst, reported in your Magazine of November 1768; but then this fragility may be supposed to arise from an internal cause, to wit, the aridity or dryness of old men's bones, tenacity or toughness depending mainly upon a competent degree of moisture. And this I presume was the case with that great man, Archbishop Laud. At 54 years of age, his Grace strained, or rather broke the great ligament of his foot, the tendon Achillis, and when he was 68, as he was walking up and down his chamber at the Tower, the sinew of his right leg gave a great crack, without any slip or treading awry, and brake asunder in the same place where he had broken it before. His Grace, however, recovered it, and could go strongly upon plain ground. See his Diary, p. 42, 63, 191. The event, you observe, was not very bad, but that is not the meaning of my introducing this fracture; for my design is to shew, by this, how easily dryness in the limbs of old persons disposes them to break. But this, I apprehend, is by no means the case with our bones in frosty seasons, which I presume are so fenced and secured against the external injuries of weather, by the *periosteum*, the flesh, and

the skin, that one cannot suppose them to be drier in hard weather than at other times. I incline to believe upon the whole, that the bones cannot be effected by any severity of weather less than what would cause death.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1769, Jan. T. Row.

XXXV. *Whether Oily Substances are hurtful to the Bones?*

MR. URBAN,

THERE is a passage in the Book of Psalms which carries with it some difficulty, in respect to me at least. The commentators, those I have seen, touch it very lightly, and the naturalists do not perfectly agree, or, it rather may be said, *disagree*. The words are, ‘As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment; so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.’ Ps. cix. 18. Some think the allusion is to the oil sticking close to the bones, others to the penetrating nature of it. But neither of these interpretations seems to be sufficient, as one substance may stick close to, and even penetrate another, without doing any harm; whereas the context and sum of the passage seem to imply something that is hurtful and pernicious to the bones. And indeed it is asserted by some great names, that oil is really prejudicial to them. Thus Dr. Nieuwentyt says, ‘There is nothing more pernicious to a naked bone, than to put oil, or any other moisture upon it, which will cause a miserable corruption therein: on which account it is, that the most skilful surgeons, in treating about the diseases of the bones, do most carefully warn the readers against the same.’ And then he cites the authority of Hildanus and Paræus, observing, there was no further occasion for any other evidence in this behalf, since these two gentlemen may be justly ranked amongst the most famous and skilful men in the art of medicine. He concludes, ‘whoever has seen this *caries ossium*—in any considerable degree in a living person, and has been informed that the same may be produced, or at least augmented, by any liquid or oleaginous matters, must needs confess, that the wrath and curse of *God* cannot be described by more lively compari-

sons, than in these words of the Psalmist, since *water* and *oil*, that are mentioned in this text, are both of them the most pernicious things imaginable to the bones.* It is certain, that in the eastern countries, they used much oil about the human body, for the purpose of suppling, purifying, and brightening the skin, and so far it was useful in those adust climes; but it should seem from this passage in the Psalms, they were aware at the same time, that oil, how beneficial soever it might be to the skin, was hurtful to the bones. So far, so good.

But now, Sir, others do not apprehend that oil has any such noxious quality, in respect of bones, and they adduce an experiment to shew it has not, but on the contrary that it is rather serviceable to them. Thus Alex. Blackrie speaking of oil, the third, and by much the largest ingredient in the composition of soap, says, it is so far from having any share in its lithontriptic properties, that, on the contrary, he thinks it rather tends to hinder the other ingredients from exerting their active powers for this purpose, by becoming, in some degree, a cement to connect the calcareous particles of our food, &c. ‘That this is the case will evidently appear,’ he says, ‘by the easy experiment of calcining a bone till it is reduced to an inert, inactive earth; which, if not disturbed, will, nevertheless, retain its former shape. The bone thus robbed of its agglutinating principles, will become so friable as to crumble into dust and ashes upon a gentle touch; but afterwards, [*now please to observe*, Mr. Urban,] by the affusion of a sufficient quantity of oil, such a degree of tenacity may be restored to it, as will allow it to be taken up and handled freely without breaking. That oil contributes much to the stability of the bones, by preventing them from growing too brittle, the learned and accurate anatomist, Dr. Alexander Monro, when he enumerates the uses of the marrow, has evidently shewn†.’ Here, a great anatomist asserts, that oil contributes to the *stability of the bones*, and an acute disquisitor shews by experiment, that it will even restore the *lost tenacity* of them. What then is to be done in this case? How are we to determine, when there are such cogent authorities on both sides the question, whether oil be hurtful or beneficial to the bones? For my part, I cannot but wish some further inquiries might be made upon this

* Nieuwentyt, Relig. Philosopher, I. p. 203.

† Blackrie’s Disquisition on Medicines that dissolve the Stone, p. 84. seq. where he cites Monro’s Anatomy of the Bones, Edit. IV. p. 20. seq.

subject. As to the Psalmist, he will be clear either way, as it is a sufficient justification for him, that in his day it was understood, that oleaginous substances were prejudicial to the human *stamina*, though upon after-researches it should prove otherwise; for I suppose it is an allowed maxim now, that the scriptures were not intended to teach us philosophy.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1769, Feb.

T. Row.

XXXVI. Curious Account of the Dissection of Old Parr, from a Manuscript of Dr. Harvey.

THOMAS PARR was a poor countryman of Shropshire, whence he was brought up to London, by the Right Hon. Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and died after he had outlived nine princes, in the tenth year of the tenth of them, at the age of 152 years and 9 months.

Being opened after his death (anno 1635, Nov. 16.) his body was found very fleshy, his breast hairy, his genitals unimpaired, serving not a little to confirm the report of his having undergone public censures for his incontinency; especially seeing that after that time, viz. at the age of 120 years, he married a widow, who owned, *Eum cum ipsa rem habuisse, ut alii mariti solent; et usque ad 12 annos retroactos solitum cum ea congressum frequentasse.* Further, that he had a large breast, lungs not fungous, but sticking to his ribs, and distended with much blood; a lividness in his face, as he had a difficulty of breathing a little before his death, and a long-lasting warmth in his arm-pits and breast after it, (which sign, together with others, were so evident, in his body, as they used to be on those that die by suffocation.) His heart was great, thick, fibrous, and fat. The blood in the heart blackish and diluted. The cartilages of the sternum not more bony than in others, but flexile and soft. His viscera were sound and strong, especially the stomach; and it was observed of him, that he used to eat often by night and day, though contented with old cheese, milk, coarse bread, small beer, and whey; and, which is more remarkable, that he did eat at midnight, a little before he died. His kidneys covered with fat and pretty sound; only on the interior surface of them were found some aqueous or serous abscesses, whereof one was near the bigness of a hen's egg, with a yellowish water in it, having made a roundish cavity, impressed on that kidney; whence some thought it came,

that a little before his death a suppression of urine had befallen him: though others were of opinion, that his urine was suppressed upon the regurgitation of all the serosity into his lungs. Not the least appearance was there of any stony matter, either in the kidneys or bladder. His bowels were also sound, a little whitish without. His spleen very little, hardly equalling the bigness of one kidney. In short, all his inward parts appeared so healthy, that if he had not changed his diet and air, he might perhaps have lived a good while longer.

The cause of his death was imputed chiefly to the change of food and air; forasmuch as coming out of a clear, thin, and free air, he came into the thick air of London; and after a constant, plain, and homely country diet, he was taken into a splendid family, where he fed high, and drank plentifully of the best wines, whereupon the natural functions of the parts of his body were overcharged, his lungs obstructed, and the habit of the whole body quite disordered; upon which there could not but ensue a dissolution.

His brain was sound, entire, and firm; and though he had not the use of his eyes, nor much of his memory, several years before he died, yet he had his hearing and apprehension very well, and was able, even to the hundred and thirtieth year of his age to do any husbandman's work, even threshing of corn.

1769, Jan.

XXXVII. Description of a Stone Eater.

MR. URBAN,

SOME years ago we had an account of a Scotch gentleman, whose appetite and digestion became gradually so weak that he could take no other sustenance than the whey of goat's milk; and at length even this becoming too strong for his stomach, he derived his whole nourishment from water only. The truth of this report was generally disbelieved, till the gentleman himself, accompanied by some of his friends, attended a meeting of the Royal Society, and there put the fact so entirely out of question, that a full account thereof was afterwards published in the *Philos. Trans.* What then must your readers think of the following much more extraordinary account inserted in the learned

father PAULIAN's Dictionnaire Physique, under the article DIGESTION?

Yours, &c.

“The beginning of May, 1760, was brought to Avignon, a true lithophagus or stone-eater. He not only swallowed flints of an inch and a half long, a full inch broad, and half an inch thick; but such stones as he could reduce to powder, such as marble, pebbles, &c. he made up into paste, which was to him a most agreeable and wholesome food. I examined this man with all the attention I possibly could; I found his gullet very large, his teeth exceedingly strong, his saliva very corrosive, and his stomach lower than ordinary, which I imputed to the vast number of flints he had swallowed, being about five and twenty, one day with another. Upon interrogating his keeper, he told me the following particulars. ‘This stone-eater,’ says he, ‘was found three years ago in a northern inhabited island, by some of the crew of a Dutch ship, on Good Friday. Since I have had him, I make him eat raw flesh with his stones; I could never get him to swallow bread. He will drink water, wine, and brandy; which last liquor gives him infinite pleasure. He sleeps at least twelve hours in a day, sitting on the ground with one knee over the other, and his chin resting on his right knee. He smokes almost all the time he is not asleep, or is not eating. The flints he has swallowed he voids somewhat corroded and diminished in weight, the rest of his excrements resemble mortar.’ The keeper also tells me, that some physicians at Paris got him blooded; that the blood had little or no serum, and in two hours time became as fragile as coral. If this fact be true, it is manifest that the most diluted part of the stony juice must be converted into chyle. This stone-eater hitherto is unable to pronounce more than a few words, *Oui, non, caillou, bon*. I shewed him a fly through a microscope: he was astonished at the size of the animal, and could not be induced to examine it. He has been taught to make the sign of the cross, and was baptized some months ago in the church of St. Côme, at Paris. The respect he shews to ecclesiastics, and his ready disposition to please them, afforded me the opportunity of satisfying myself as to all these particulars; and I am fully convinced that he is no cheat.”

1769, June.

XXXVIII. On the Stature and Figure of Old Persons.

OLD persons are never so tall as they were in their prime; they stoop, and their height is otherwise, as I apprehend, diminished; and from what causes, it may be matter of some curiosity to inquire.

If an aged person, suppose of seventy, sits upon a chair that is too high for him, for any long space of time, and his feet for the time do not easily and fully touch the ground, he will find a pain in his thigh-bone, which, I presume, must be occasioned by the weight of his legs and feet drawing it downwards, and pressing it against the edge of the seat or chair. This consequently induces a small degree of curvature in the bone, which, if the same thing be continued or repeated, will still be greater to the diminution of the person's stature; for as the elasticity of the fibres of the bone is, in such old subjects, in a great measure lost, the bone never totally recovers its pristine state. This, I conjecture, may be the reason of thigh-bones, both of men and women, being found sometimes, as I have heard, in a state of flexion more than natural.

The flesh of elderly people generally either wastes and shrinks, or it grows pasty, being deprived of its native and juvenile elasticity. But now, in either case, the soles of the feet will of course grow flatter, to the prejudice of the person's height.

These, indeed, are but trifling causes of the decrease of stature, in comparison of what follows: for if the flesh in old subjects is subject to lose its elasticity, the cartilages are much more so. Now, it is a known fact, that people are taller in the morning than at night, owing to the pressure of the upper parts in the day-time, and whilst the party is in an upright posture, on the cartilages between the vertebræ of the neck and back; which cartilages, in young subjects, by their spring, resume their tone and former dimensions, by recumbency or the horizontal position of the body during sleep, the incumbent weight or pressure being for that interval and by that posture, removed; and for this reason, every youthful person is actually tallest in the morning. But this is far from being the case with the aged. The cartilages in them are grown dry and thin, and springless, whereby the stature will perpetually continue at the lowest pitch. And as the interstices of the vertebræ are consequently enlarged, (to say nothing of the relaxed state of the

sinews and ligaments) the head, by its weight, will moreover naturally fall forward, and a bending-in the back will ensue, and chiefly in the weaker parts, about the loins and the small of the back. Hence comes in some measure that *incurvation* so remarkable in old persons, and of which the poets have not failed to take notice; hence Otway makes the Hag or Witch in the Orphan to be

—————*with age grown double.*

And so Sackville, in Higgins's Tales of Princes, p. 263.

And next in order *sad old age* we found,
His beard all hoare, his eyes hollow and blind,
With drouping chere still poring on the ground.
As on the place where nature him assign'd
To rest.

A weakness in the *thorax* or chest, by which it becomes unable to support in the best and most upright manner, the weight of the head and parts above, contributes mainly to this apparent incurvation. And this weakness in that part, of which old persons are very sensible, and often will complain of, saying, *how hollow they find themselves there, with a weariness and a small degree of pain*, is owing, I conceive, partly to the relaxation of the tendons of the neck, particularly the *aponeurosis*, which lets the head drop, as it were, and press the more upon the *thorax*; and partly to the dead and fixed state, as now they are deprived of their spring, of the cartilages of the ribs, whereby the *os ensiforme* is but ill supported and fortified against this new and additional weight, yea rather gives way and yields unto it. Whatever is the cause, the *os* or *cartilago ensiformis* certainly does not duly and adequately perform its function in this advanced stage of life.

An anatomist might probably say a great deal more on this subject, and illustrate it far better. To him I shall therefore leave it, (and it certainly deserves his regard) only adding, it would give me pleasure to see it further and more masterly considered.

1771, Aug.

XXXIX. The Cruelty of Collectors of Insects censured.

MR. URBAN,

THE cruelty of anatomists, in their experiments on living animals, is often dreadful to relate, and is already enlarged upon by essay writers in their useful miscellanies: but I am not certain whether the entomologist, or collector of insects, has not hitherto passed without censure, though he practises the most unrelenting cruelty on flies, moths, and spiders: he takes pleasure to impale for days and weeks the papilionaceous race with corking pins, with which his cushion is replete: whilst the libellutæ, or dragon flies, are killed by squeezing the thorax, or with the spirit of turpentine, to the no small horror of the humane and benevolent, who are of opinion, that science might be improved, and learning increased without such barbarities: and it may be observed, both science and learning are dearly acquired at the expense of that humanity, which is more necessary than either, in our road through life.

Let me, in a few words, (a multitude are not requisite) inform those gentlemen, they certainly have forgotten, that, in ages long ago, a venerable ancient philosopher, named Pythagoras, prescribed the utmost mercy to inferior animals; they are, perhaps, also not apprized, that the sect of Bramins still reverence his precepts, and literally follow his example. It is recorded in history, that the Athenian court, called the Areopagite, was particularly careful to punish offenders of this kind. Even a child, who, in the wantonness of his recreation, had deprived an innocent bird of its sight, was condemned by one of these Grecian magistrates, and suffered a very severe punishment.

Of the fair sex, I would willingly hope there are but few of those cruel naturalists; at least I do not recollect but one in the circle of my observation, nor do I wish the number may increase. Your present correspondent, Mr. Urban, (like a person who reveres the Eastern Shastah) has formed a resolution to deprive of life not even one of those minutiae of the creation. The poor beetle from me shall feel no corporal sufferance; the butterfly, unmolested by my hand, may range from flower to flower; the gnat may deposit his eggs, and the spider renew his web, without sustaining any injury.

It is my firm opinion, that we have no unlimited dominion over the insect tribe; and though man may be considered as the delegate of heaven, over the inferior creatures, he is

not causelessly, wantonly to immerse his hands in their blood, or cause them to linger in cruel tortures. It is true, I have little faith in the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, yet let me recommend the Christian doctrine of pity and compassion. And, however strange and singular these principles may appear to the impaling murderers in question, persons endowed with sensibility of mind, I am sure, will applaud them.

1771, *Sept.*

EUSEBIA.

XL. On the Process of Vegetation in Trees.

Black Bourton, Oxon, Oct. 12, 1771.

MR. URBAN.

SOME consideration on the process of vegetation in trees, may not only be a matter of curiosity, but from thence some beneficial effects to mankind may possibly be deduced.

In spring and summer, the sap abounds with salts, and is perfectly fluid, by which means the nutritious juices are conveyed through all the more minute ducts, to every part of the tree, for the purposes of vegetation; but as winter advances, and that is no longer to be carried on, the sap begins to grow thick and viscid, and thereby rendered incapable of passing through the smaller vessels, by which means the leaves of all those which are classed under the name of trees with deciduous leaves, for want of their due nourishment, fall off and perish. In winter the sap assumes another form, retires to the bark, abounds with oil, and in that state seems designed by providence as a defensative to the vital parts of the tree against the inclemency of the weather, during that torpid state. But as the spring comes on, it again liquifies, and these oleaginous parts are by nature elaborated into a thin aqueous juice, to pervade every part of it for vegetation.

I have been informed, that the bark of oak is fit for tanning, only when taken off in the spring of the year, when the oily parts contained in it are digested into the fluidity of sap, and if taken off in the winter, would be totally useless for that purpose; and therefore should think that the tanning property of it, arises from the sap-aqueous juice contained in it: and if so, it may be worth while to consider whether the tapping of the oak in spring might not produce liquor in great quantity fit for this purpose; but as this would soon ferment and grow into a spirituous liquor, and thereby be so

totally changed, as not to be at all proper for this use ; *that* fermentation might be prevented by boiling it down, and throwing of the aqueous parts by evaporation, as is every day practised in the fresh juices of the grape, and made into a rob ; so to concentrate its juices, as to prevent fermentation, and reduce it to a body. And in this form the sap of trees might be safely conveyed from great distances, and at any time made use of.

To this let me add, it is found that nuts, mast, and seeds of every kind, plentifully abound with oil, and perhaps for the same reason, that bark in winter is full of it, to be a preservative of the corculum, or vegetative principle ; and, indeed, seeds of every kind have a much greater quantity of oil contained in them, than in the same portion of bark, as a superior care may perhaps be necessary for their preservation ; and it is to be observed, that as soon as nuts, acorns, mast, &c. begin to vegetate, their juices become aqueous, rancid, acrid, and austere ; and if eaten in that state, are productive of the most dangerous consequences, and in some instances fatal. From this process of nature it has occurred to me, that if acorns were artificially made to vegetate, in the manner made use of in malting of corn, a more powerful material for tanning might be produced, than the oak bark ; and perhaps repeated trials and experience of other seeds in the same way, might indicate others, equally, or more, adapted for this purpose.

1771, Nov. *Philosophical Transactions* P. E.

XLI. Extraordinary Effects of Pestilential Winds.

MR. URBAN,

WE have an account in several authors, as noted in the margin*, of certain hot, sultry, pestilential, or rather suffocating winds in the Levant. They blow from the deserts, and are met with in Egypt, Persia, Assyria, India, and other countries adjacent to large and extensive plains of sand. But, not to be tedious, I shall here only give you the words of two authors concerning these mortal blasts. Thevenot

* Thevenot, p. 177, 261. Part II. p. 54. 116. et seq. 135, 138. Tavernier, p. 256. Part II. p. 44. Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 217, 218, 379. Bryant, p. 7. Shaw's Supplement, p. 11. Hyde de Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 339.

writes, p. 177, "In this journey from Sarr to Caire, for a day's time and more, we had so hot a wind, that we were forced to turn our backs to it, to take a little breath, and so soon as we opened our mouths, they were full of sand. Our water was so extremely heated with it, that it seemed to be just taken off the fire; and many poor people of the *caravan* came and begged of us a cup of water, for God's sake. For our part we could not drink it, it was so hot. The camels were so infested with this wind, that they could not so much as feed; but it lasted not above six hours in its force; and, if it had continued longer, one half of the *caravan* would have perished. It was such a kind of wind that the year before so infested the *caravan* of Mecca; that two thousand men died of it in one night."

The words of Tavernier, speaking of Bander-Abbassi, p. 256, are "March being past, the wind changes, and blowing at W.S.W. in a short time it grows so hot and so stifling, that it almost takes away a man's breath. The wind is by the Arabians called *El-samiel*, or the 'poisonous wind'; by the Persians, *Badesambour*, because it suffocates and kills presently. The flesh of them that are thus stifled, feels like a glewy fat, and as if they had been dead a month before," &c.

Now there is a remarkable passage, in Dr. Shaw's Supplement to his Travels, relative to this matter, which I think requires a different solution from what the learned Doctor has given it. He says, "At Siabah, a few days journey beyond Ras-Sem, towards Egypt, there is a whole *caravan*, consisting of men, asses, and camels, which, from time immemorial, has been preserved at that place. The greatest part of these bodies still continues perfect and entire, from the heat of the sun, and the dryness of the climate; and the tradition is, that they were all of them originally surprised, suffocated, and dried up, by the hot, scorching winds that sometimes frequent those deserts *."

This, however, does not appear to me at all probable; for Tavernier observes above, and I think very justly, that the poisonous winds here spoken of, have a tendency rather to corrupt an animal body, and to cause it to putrefy, than to preserve it. And this is confirmed by Mons. Thevenot, Part ii. p. 54, where he says, "No sooner does a man die by this wind, than he becomes as black as a coal; and if one take

* Shaw's Travels, p. 379. and Supplement, p. 11. 18.

him by the leg, arm, or any other place, his flesh comes from the bones, and is plucked off by the hand that would lift him up." Wherefore I incline to believe, that the *caravan* Dr. Shaw speaks of, was first killed by one of these pestilential winds, and then was instantly covered with sand, (storms of sand being exceedingly common in the deserts*) which was the efficient and direct cause of their preservation in their sound state, and not those hot scorching winds to which it is attributed by the Doctor; these, on the contrary, having a disposition to putrefy, rather than to preserve, them. The sand of the deserts has the property of drying, in concurrence with the heat of the sun, as Dr. Shaw himself tells us: "The same violent heat may be the reason, likewise, why the carcasses of camels, and other creatures, which lie exposed in these deserts, are quickly *drained of that moisture* which would otherwise dispose them to *putrefaction*; and being hereby put into a state of preservation, not much inferior to what is communicated by spices and bandages, they will continue a number of years without mouldering away." All, then, that we have to suppose is, that the sand, which first covered and preserved the bodies of this *caravan*, was afterwards, by the shifting of the winds, blown away from them, so as to leave them entirely exposed to view, and in that uncommon state of preservation and incorruption in which they are said to have been found. The supposition seems to be absolutely necessary, in accounting for the *phenomenon*, as the pestilential wind, supposed to have destroyed them, and which has been described above, could never have left the bodies in such a dry and sound condition.

I am, &c.

1772, June.

T. Row.

XLII. On the Leviathan.

MR. URBAN,

YOU are aware, without doubt, of the dispute there has been amongst the learned about the *Leviathan* described in the xlist chapter of the book of Job, and mentioned in the civth Psalm; some fixing upon one of God's creatures for

* Churchill, V. p. 533.

the animal intended by the sacred writers, and some upon another. Dr. Thomas Shaw may be deemed the most literate of all our English travellers, in respect of the Encyclopædia, or learning in all its branches and extent; and as he visited the Eastern parts of the world, and has touched upon this subject in his book, and particularly in his Dissertation on the Mosaic Pavement at Præneste, (see his Supplement, p. 86.) one would expect something decisive upon this controverted point from him. He is of opinion, that the *Leviathan* is no other than the *Crocodile*, ‘which (*these are his words*) from the scaly quality and hardness of its coat, or (in the scripture phrase, Job xli. 17.) *whose scales so stick together, that they cannot be sundered*, is in no danger (v. 7.) of *having his skin filled with barbed irons, or his head with fish spears*. The *Crocodile* is of too great weight and magnitude likewise (v. i.) *to be drawn out of the river*, as fish usually are, *with a hook*. The *Crocodile* then, from these apposite characteristics, may be well taken for the *Leviathan*, as it is described above in the book of Job.’ This conjecture of the Doctor’s is not new, for you may find it in Calmet’s Dictionary, as likewise in other writers; and I much question, though our able traveller has thought proper to adopt and revive it, whether it be the true interpretation. The *Crocodile* is a river animal entirely, and is never found in the sea: at this time he is not found in the lower or northern parts of the Nile, but in Upper Egypt only. And yet the Royal Psalmist says expressly,

CIV. 24. The earth is full of thy riches;

25. So is the *great and wide sea* also; wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts.

26. There go the *ships*, and there is that *Leviathan*, whom thou hast made to take his pastime therein.

Where the *Leviathan* is plainly made to be an inhabitant of the *great and wide sea*, of the same ocean that is navigated by *ships*. We are obliged, therefore, to suppose it to have been some large *sea fish*, of which there were several sorts in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean, not unknown to the ancients, who have accordingly given them various names, which need not be here mentioned. And it is not of any consequence, whether we can now appropriate the name to the particular and identical fish, or not. However that the *Leviathan* cannot be the *Crocodile*, appears to me most certain.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1773, Jan.

T. Row.

XLIII. *Stones not hurtful to Land.*

MR. URBAN, *From a letter to the Editor of the Farmer's Magazine.*
IT has been long known to experienced farmers, that taking away very small stones and flints is detrimental to ploughed lands in general; but more particularly so to thin light lands, and to all lands of a binding nature.

It was, however, never imagined, that the damage could be so great as it is now found to be, since unusual quantities of flints and other stones have been repeatedly gathered for the use of the turnpike roads.

In the parish of Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, there is a field known by the name of Chalkdell-field, containing about 200 acres; the land in this field was formerly equal, if not superior, to most lands in that county; but lying convenient for the surveyors of the roads, they have picked it so often, and stripped it of the flint and small stones to such a degree, that it is now inferior to lands that were formerly reckoned not much above half its value, acre for acre. Nor is it Chalkdell-field alone that has materially suffered in that county by the above-mentioned practice; several thousand acres bordering on the turnpike roads from Wellwyn to Baldock have been so much impoverished, that the loss to the inheritance for ever must be computed at a great many thousand pounds.

What puts it beyond a doubt that the prodigious impoverishment of the land is owing to no other cause but picking and carrying away the stones, is that those lands have generally been most impoverished which have been most frequently picked; nay, I know a field, part of which was picked, and the other part ploughed up before they had time to pick it, where the part that was picked lost seven or eight parts in ten of two succeeding crops; and though the whole field was manured and managed in all respects alike, yet the impoverishment was visible where the stones had been picked off, and extended not an inch farther; an incontestible proof of the benefit of the stones.

1773, *March.*

An Hertfordshire Farmer.

XLIV. On the Serpent destroyed by Regulus.

MR. URBAN,

THE story of the great serpent, that did so much mischief to the Roman army, commanded by Regulus, in Africa, and which was at last encountered, besieged, and killed by him, is so well known, that, I presume, I need not refer you to any authors concerning it. Much difficulty, however, attends this story. Dr. Shaw, indeed, thinks it was a crocodile; these are his words: "There is no small probability, likewise, (as, in the earlier ages, there was no great propriety in the Latin names of animals, Trav. p. 245) that the *dragon* or *serpent*, such an one as Regulus is said to have defeated with so much difficulty, upon the banks of the Bagradas, was no other than the *crocodile*; for this animal alone (from the enormous size to which it sometimes arrives, from the almost impenetrable quality of its skin, which would hardly submit to the force of warlike engines) will best answer, as none of the *serpent* kind, properly so called, will do, to that description*." This, though, I doubt will not do the business; for, in the first place, the serpent in question, according to Orosius†, and, I suppose, other authors whom he followed, was 120 feet long, treble or four times the size of any *crocodile* that was ever seen or heard of: secondly, the river Bagradas was near Carthage, a part of Africa where *crocodiles* are not known, and I believe never were; for I take it to be certain, that no river that disembogues into the Mediterranean, ever afforded this animal, except the Nile. Mr. Barrington, I observe, who, I make no question, was well apprised of the above opinion and conjecture of Dr. Shaw, calls the affair of this enormous *adder*, and Regulus's proceedings in relation to it, *an absurd and incredible fact*‡: and, to say truth, it is a hard matter to reconcile it with any tolerable degree of probability; so that, at last, we must be forced to acquiesce in his declaration.

Yours,

1773, Sept.

T. Row.

* Dr. Shaw, Travels, in Supplement, p. 87.

† Orosius, IV. 8.

‡ Mr. Barrington, Engl. Version of Ælfred's Saxon Version of Orosius, p. 143.

XLV. On the Growth of Cedars in England.

Hardwicke House, Feb. 16, 1779.

MR. URBAN,

AMONG the slighter devastations occasioned by the last new-year's hurricane, I cannot, as an admirer of natural productions, but lament with particular regret the destruction of perhaps the finest cedar in England. This superb tree, *una nemus*, stood close on the north side of Hendon Place*, the elegant residence of Mr. Aislabe, eight miles from London. From the gardener's information, and my own admeasurements, some of its dimensions *had been* these: the height 70 feet; the diameter of the horizontal extent of the branches, upon an average, 100; the circumference of the trunk, 7 feet above the ground, 16; 12 feet above the ground, 20. At this latter height it began to branch; and its limbs, about 10 in number, were from 6 to 12 feet in circumference. Its roots had not spread wide nor deep; and the soil that had suited it so well, is a strong clay, upon rather an elevated situation. Tradition ascribes the planting of this tree to Queen Elizabeth herself; yet the vigour of its trunk, and the full verdure of its branches (besides a reason which I shall presently adduce), make me doubt, whether we are to allow it so great an age. However that be, its appearance shews that it had not arrived at maturity, and might have stood, perhaps have thriven, for centuries to come. The gardener made 50l. of the cones the year before last, but last year only 12l.

The great size, and apparent increasing vigour of this tree, excited my curiosity to inquire into the age and size of some of its brethren; and to collect what particulars I could towards the English history of this noblest of our exotics.

The Rev. Mr. Lightfoot, of Uxbridge, upon whose accu-

* Hendon Place was in Norden's time the seat of "Sir Edward Herbert, Knt. where is often resident Sir John Fortescue, Knt. one of her Majesty's privy council, when he taketh the air in the country." Sir Edward died 1594, and his eldest son William was created Lord Powis, 5 C. I. and dying 1655, was buried in Hendon church. On the death of their lineal descendant the late Marquis of Powis, 1747-8, this valuable estate was sold by auction by the late Mr. Langford, 1756, in three several sales, viz. the manor, the demesne lands, and the tythes. This house was purchased by Robert Snow, Esq. banker, of London, who is the present proprietor. He pulled down the old house (where was a spacious gallery), and erected the present mansion, which was lately in the occupation of the Earl of Northampton, and now of Mr. Aislabe.

racy, as well as friendship, I can depend, has sent me the following dimensions of one at Hillingdon, in his neighbourhood. The perpendicular height is 53 feet; the diameter of the horizontal extent of the branches from east to west, 96; from north to south, 89; the circumference of the trunk close to the ground, $15\frac{1}{2}$; $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground, $13\frac{1}{2}$; 7 feet above the ground, $12\frac{1}{2}$; 12 feet above the ground, 14 feet 8 inches; $13\frac{1}{2}$, just under the branches, 15 feet 8 inches. It has two principal branches, one of which is bifid $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot above its origin: before it divides, it measures in circumference 12 feet, after its division, one of its forks measures $8\frac{1}{2}$, the other 7 feet ten inches. The other primary branch at its origin measures 10 feet; and, soon dividing, throws out two secondary ones, each $5\frac{1}{2}$. The proprietor of this tree says he can with much certainty determine its age to be 116 years.

The largest of those at Chelsea, measured last month, is in height 85 feet; the horizontal extent of its branches is about 80; the circumference of its trunk close to the ground, $18\frac{1}{2}$; at 2 feet above the ground, 15; at 10 feet, 16; at about 1 yard higher it begins to branch. These trees, Mr. Miller says, were, as he was credibly informed, planted in 1683, about 3 feet high. The soil is a lean hungry sand mixed with gravel, with about two feet surface.

In the garden of the old palace at Enfield, is a cedar of Libanus, of the following dimensions, taken by Mr. Thomas Liley, an ingenious schoolmaster there, at the desire of my friend Mr. Gough, who was so obliging as to communicate them to me:

	Feet. Inches.	
Height	45	9
Girt at top	3	7
Second girt	7	9
Third girt	10	
Fourth girt	14	6

Large arm that branches out near the top, 3 feet 9 inches; several boughs, in girt 3 feet 5 inches; and the boughs extend from the body from 28 to 45 feet. The contents of the body, exclusive of the boughs, is about 103 cubical feet. This tree is known to have been planted by Dr. Uvedale, who kept a flourishing school, at this house, at the time of the great plague, 1665, and was a great florist. Eight feet of the top were broken off by the high wind of 1703. Tradition says this tree was brought hither immediately from Mount Libanus in a portmanteau. The first lime-trees

planted in England found their way over in the same conveyance.*

Several other cedars of considerable size are scattered about in different parts of the kingdom.

I find not, with exactness, when, or by whom, the cedar was first introduced into England. Turner, one of our earliest herbarists, where he treats "of the pyne tree, and other of that kynde," says nothing of it. Gerard, published by Johnson in 1636, mentions it not as growing here; and Parkinson, in his *Theatrum Botanicum*, 1640, speaking of the *Cedrus magna conifera Libani*, says, "The branches, some say, all grow upright, but others straight out." Evelyn, whose Discourse on Forest Trees was delivered in the Royal Society in 1662, observing that cedars thrive in cold climates, adds, "Why then should they not thrive in Old England? I know not, save for want of industry and trial."

Hitherto, I think, it is pretty plain the cedar was unknown among us: and it appears probable, that we are indebted to the last-mentioned gentleman for its introduction into England; for he informs us in the same paragraph from which I made the above quotation, that he had received cones and seeds from the few trees remaining on the mountains of Libanus.

Something better than 20 years afterwards, we find, among Mr. Ray's Philosophical Letters, the following curious one addressed to him from Sir Hans Sloane:

"London, March 7, 1684-5.

"I was the other day at Chelsea, and find that the artifices used by Mr. Watts have been very effectual for the preservation of his plants; insomuch that this severe enough winter has scarcely killed any of his fine plants. One thing I much wonder, to see the *Cedrus montis Libani*, the inhabitant of a very different climate, should thrive so well, as, without pot or greenhouse, to be able to propagate itself by layers this spring. Seeds sown last autumn have as yet thriven well, and are like to hold out: the main artifice I used to them has been, to keep them from the winds, which seem to give a great additional force to cold to destroy the tender plants."

This is the first notice that has occurred to me of the cultivation of the cedar among us. Perhaps the tree that propagated itself by layers in 1684, might be from the seed

* Harris's Kent, p. 92.

received by Mr. Evelyn; and the reputed age of that at Hillingdon agrees with the time of that importation; supposing that importation was made about the time of the delivery of the Discourse on Forest Trees: nor probably, notwithstanding tradition, is that at Hendon to be referred to a higher date. Why Sir Hans should wonder at the cedar thriving so well in the open air at Chelsea, I know not; for, though it be found in the warmer climates, it is known to be a native of the snowy mountains of Libanus, and consequently not likely to be destroyed by the inclemency of an English winter. But, I believe, we generally treat exotics, upon their first arrival among us, with more tenderness than they require. Perhaps the fear of losing them may be one reason; perhaps, too, they may be gradually habituated to endure a degree of cold which at first would have proved fatal to them. Upon the first introduction of the tea-tree, it was either kept in our green-houses, or, if planted in the open ground, matted or otherwise sheltered in the winter; we now find such care unnecessary. I have had one, at a degree north of London, thrive and blossom for some years, in the open air, without the slightest protection, in the severest winter.

That this little memoir may not appear to terminate in mere curiosity, I think it warrants me in recommending the cultivation of the cedar for common use; as it is well known to be a very valuable material in the hand of the joiner and cabinet-maker. Mr. Miller observed their quick growth at Chelsea, in a poor gravelly soil: those at Hendon, Hillingdon, and Enfield, shew that they thrive as well in a very different one. Those planted by the old Duke of Argyle, at Whitton, have made the happiest progress; and I am assured that a room has been wainscotted with their timber.

If these slight notes should induce any better informed person to throw more light on this subject, it would afford entertainment to many, as well as to,

Yours, &c.

1779, *March.*

JOHN CULLUM.

XLVI. The Harmless Nature of Hedge-Hogs.

MR. URBAN,

A COUNTRY churchwarden wants to be informed, whether the law hath set a price on the head of a hedge-hog, and whether it hath inclination and the power to milk the cow.

As to the first part of this inquiry, your correspondent may rest assured, that no such law is now in being, or ever did exist: for to what purpose should mankind be roused to persecute, even with circumstances of barbarity, a poor, harmless, inoffensive creature, slow and patient, incapable to offend, or to do the least injury to any part of the animal creation, except devouring worms, snails, and other such creatures, on which it feeds, together with the berries of hawthorns and brambles, and other wild berries? Perhaps the appearance it makes may have disgusted some unthinking people, being guarded by nature against all common dangers, by prickles, and a power of rolling itself round in them when apprehensive of an enemy, by means of a strong membrane or muscle, something like a foot-ball.

As to the power and inclination of milking a cow, I may venture to say, that such a notion is one of the most absurd and the silliest of all vulgar errors. Had providence intended the hedge-hog should have been vested with such a power, it would have been properly enabled to have carried that power into execution, by endowing it with a mouth large enough to receive the pap of the cow, and without giving any uneasiness to the cow during the operation of sucking: but, instead of that, the head of the hedge-hog terminates in a snout like that of a common hog, the mouth is small, armed with sharp and short teeth, utterly improper for suction, and which must destroy the very supposition of such a power; and thence we may safely conclude the hedge-hog cannot have any inclination to milk a cow. The hedge-hog lives in the bottoms of hedges and among furze or whins; it collects moss, dry leaves, and grass, wherewith to make a warm bed. I remember formerly, that a roasted hedge-hog and fried mice were reckoned good in the chin-cough, or hooping-cough.

1779, *Aug.*

S. L.

XLVII. Account of the Free Martin,

An Extract from Mr. Hunter's Account of the Free Martin, in the Philosophical Transactions.

IT is a known fact, and, I believe, is understood to be universal, that when a cow brings forth two calves, and that one of them is a bull calf, and the other a cow to appearance, the cow calf is unfit for propagation. They are known not to breed: they do not even shew the least inclination for the bull, nor does the bull ever take the least notice of them*; but the bull calf becomes a very proper bull.

This cow calf is called in this country a *Free Martin*; and this singularity is just as well known among the farmers as either cow or bull.

This calf has all the external marks of a cow calf.

When they are preserved, it is not for propagation, but to yoke with the oxen, or to fatten for the table.†

They are much larger than either the bull or cow; and the horns grow larger, being very similar to the horns of an ox.

The bellow of the free martin is similar to that of an ox, which is not at all like that of a bull; it is more of the cow, though not exactly that.

The meat is also much finer in the fibre than either the bull or cow; and they are more susceptible of growing fat with good food. By some they are supposed to exceed the ox and heifer in delicacy of food, and bear a higher price at market.

However, it seems that this is not universal; for I was lately informed by Charles Palmer, Esq. of Luckley, in Berkshire, that there was a free martin killed in his neighbourhood, and, from the general idea of its being better meat than common, every neighbour bespoke a piece, which turned out nearly as bad as bull beef, at least worse than that of a cow. It is probable, that this might arise from this one having more the properties of the bull than the cow, as

* I need hardly observe here, that if a cow has twins, and that they are both bull calves, that they are in every respect perfect bulls; or, if they are both cow calves, that they are perfect cows.

† Vide Leslie on Husbandry, p. 98, 99.

we shall see hereafter that they are sometimes more the one than the other.*

Free martins are said to be in sheep;† but, from the accounts given of them, I should very much suspect that these are hermaphrodites produced in the common way, and not like those of cattle. They are often imperfect males, several of which I have seen. They are mentioned as both male and female, which is not reconcileable to the account given of the free martin.

I believe it has never been even supposed what this animal is, with all those peculiarities.

From the singularity of the animal, and the account of its production, I was almost ready to suppose the account a vulgar error; yet from the universality of its testimony it appeared to have some foundation; and therefore I made all the inquiry I could for an opportunity of seeing one, and also to examine it. Since which time I have accordingly had an opportunity of seeing three; the first of which was one belonging to John Arbuthnot, Esq. of Mitcham, which was calved in his own farm. He was so obliging as to give me an opportunity of satisfying myself. He allowed me, first, to have a drawing made of the animal while alive, which was executed by Mr. Gilpin. When the drawing was made of Mr. Arbuthnot's free martin, John Wells, Esq. of Bickley Farm, near Bromley, in Kent, was present, and informed us, that a cow of his had calved two calves; and that one was a bull calf, and the other a cow calf. I desired Mr. Arbuthnot to speak to Mr. Wells to keep them, or let me buy them of him; but, from his great desire for natural knowledge, he very readily preserved them both, till the bull shewed all the signs of a good bull, when he sold him.

From the dissection of the three above-mentioned free martins, Dr. Hunter says, it plainly appeared, that they were all hermaphrodites differing from one another; as is also the case in hermaphrodites in other tribes.

An account exactly similar is given by one of our corre-

* The Romans called the bull *taurus*: they, however, talked of *tauræ* in the feminine gender. And Stephens observes, that it was thought the Romans meant by *tauræ*, barren cows, and called them by this name because they did not conceive any more than bulls. He also quotes a passage from Columella, lib. vi. cap. 22. "and like the *tauræ*, which occupy the place of fertile cows, should be rejected or sent away." He likewise quotes Varro, *De Re Rustica*, lib. ii. cap. 6. "The cow which is barren, is called *taura*." From which we may reasonably conjecture, that the Romans had not the idea of the circumstances of their production.

† Leslie's Husbandry, p. 156.

spondents. "I am assured," says he, "that the female twin will never breed; and that it is usual in such cases to yoke the steer and heifer together." At the same time it is allowed, that if the twins had both been heifers, both would have bred. In both cases the assertions are founded on repeated experience.

1780, Jan.

XLVIII. Account of a Gigantic Child.

MR. URBAN, *Enfield, Mar. 11.*

OBSERVING your readiness to record in your valuable repository whatever is wonderful in the economy of nature, I send an account of an astonishing phenomenon with respect to growth, in a child of nine months old, which was communicated to the Royal Society, addressed to their Secretary, JOSEPH PLANTA.

SIR, *Enfield, Nov. 25, 1799.*

INCLOSED I send you the proportions of an extraordinary large child, a native of this parish*, as taken by Mr. Sherwen, an ingenious surgeon and apothecary of this place, whose accuracy and judgment I can confide in, as I have not yet had an opportunity of examining this phenomenon myself. The child's father has the conduct of a paper mill by the side of Enfield Marsh, and is, I believe, about 36 years of age, his mother about 42, and at present of a healthy habit; neither of his parents remarkable for their size or stature. They have had five children; the eldest of the three now living is 12 years old, and rather small of his age; but his paternal grandfather was of a size larger than ordinary. They had another son of uncommon proportion, who died of the measles in Jan. 1774, at the age of 15 months; the carpenter who made his coffin observed, that he had never measured so tall a child. The present subject being the second of the kind, excites a greater degree of curiosity, of which the father intends to avail himself, by carrying the child up to London, and making a public shew of him.

* He was born Feb. 7, 1779.

In the year 1744-5, Dr. Mead laid before the Society an account of a gigantic boy of two years old, at Willingham, in Cambridgeshire. As the story may not be fresh in every one's memory, I shall compare his dimensions with those of young Everitt, premising this one observation, that the Willingham lad, whose name was Hall, allowing for his years, was, in this respect, less of a prodigy than the Enfield boy: though, as Mr. Dawkes, the surgeon, who described him, remarks, "he past through the four stages of life in less than six years, being five years and ten months old at his death, and only 4 feet six inches high."

				feet.	inches.
HALL, round the wrist,	-	-	-		6
thickness of thigh,	-	-	-	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
waist,	-	-	-	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

Mr. Sherwen annexed the dimensions of a fine lusty boy, who is upwards of 7 years old.

Dimensions of Tho. Everitt, 9
months and 2 weeks old.

The other Boy.

	inches.	inches.
Girth round his wrist,	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Above the elbow,	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Leg near the ankle,	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Calf of the leg,	12	9
Round the thigh,	18	12 $\frac{3}{4}$
Round the small of the back,	24	22
Round under the arm-pits, and across the breast,	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	20
Length from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, 3 feet, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$.		

Mr. Sherwen adds, he should have been glad to have given the solid contents of animal substance in pounds avoirdupois: but this was not possible, as the mother is possessed with the vulgar prejudice against weighing children*. He could therefore only say, that, when she exposes his legs, thighs, and broad back to view, it is impossible to be impressed with any other idea than that of seeing a young

* His weight was guessed at nine stone.

giant. The boy has very fine hair, pure clear skin, free from pimple or blemish; he is extremely lively, and has a bright clear eye, the pupil not in the least dilated; and excepting a pair of broad cheeks, his head is rather less in proportion than his other parts. From these circumstances, Mr. S. ventures to prognosticate, that he is as likely to arrive at maturity (accidental diseases excepted) as any child he ever saw.

Soon after the date of the above letter, the boy was carried to a relation's in Great Turnstile; but the confined situation had such an effect on his health, that he was soon brought back into his native air. He has now been in London above a month, and is arrived at the following dimensions.

Height 3 feet 3 inches, round the breast 2 feet 6 inches; loins 3 feet 1 inch, thigh 1 foot 10 inches, leg 1 foot 2 inches, arm 11 inches and a half, wrist 9 inches: he is well proportioned all over, and subsists entirely on the breast; was not remarkable when born, but at about six weeks after began, and has rapidly continued, to increase to his present amazing size. His countenance is what every one would call comely, but with rather more expression in it than is usual at his age, though exceedingly pleasing from his being uncommonly well tempered.

1780, *March.*

XLIX. Curious and Authentic Instance of Longevity.

MR. URBAN,

THE following authentic instance of longevity shews the happy effects of a temperate, well-ordered, and virtuous life. I do not remember seeing it any where quoted; and it seems to have escaped notice, though recorded by so eminent a man as Bartholin concerning his own grandfather by the mother's side*. That one, who was a bookish man and author, whose constitution was naturally very weak and delicate, and who had been positively doomed to an early death by his physician, should elude the prognostic for

* Vide Tho. Bartholini *Historiarum Anatom.* Cent. Quint.

no less a term than ninety-five years, is an encouraging circumstance to literary men and valetudinarians. For their benefit I send it.

J. BOERHADEM.

“Quantum huc [scil. ad longævitatē] conferat animus semper sibi similis, nullisque passionibus in transvorsum raptus, effari nequeo.

“Avus meus maternus D. Thomas Finckius (priori seculo libris, geometria rotundi, horoscopia, &c. hoc seculo liberis clarus; numeravit enim liberos, nepotes, pronepotes, abnepotes 97,) annum ingressus erat nonagesimum-sextum hac animi constantia, et diutius vitam in senio vegetam protraxisset, nisi febris filum abruptisset. Per totum vitæ cursum a se pompam removit, et usu rerum ornamenta metiebatur. Teneram ætatem ægritudinibus habuit obnoxiam, ut medicus curæ illius præfectus sponderit parentibus, omnes itinerum vias, quas emensurus esset, auro se obduciturum. Cæterum a longa peregrinatione redux, prognosticum elusit temperantia et morum facilitate. Coercuit luxuriam, gulam temperavit, cui tamen necessaria suggessit etiam durioris substantiæ, quæ libentius avidiusque appetebat, quam cupedias; divitias æquis oculis aspexit, frugalitatem coluit, et animum metu vel gaudio affectum sub vinculis habuit, iracundiam lenivit, adversitates sprexit, et quamquam liberorum, generorum, nepotum, abnepotum, affinium, amicorumque sæpius funera audiverit, et inter tot vitæ grandævæ molestias versaretur, constanti tamen animo omnia perpessus nunquam lachrymas fudit nisi defunctæ uxoris, et bibliothecæ vulcano consumptæ, memoria recurrente.”

For the benefit of the English Reader, the above Account is thus translated.

“It is inexpressible how much equability of temper, unruffled by passion, contributes to long life. My maternal grandfather, Thomas Finck, (who in the preceding century was as distinguished by his learning, his skill in geometry, the horoscope, &c. as in the present by the number of his descendants, for he had children, grand-children, great grand-children, and great great grand-children, to the number of 97,) had by this uniformity of temper attained to his 96th year, and might have reached to a vigorous old age, had not a fever shortened his days. He studiously through life avoided show, measuring ornament by use. His tender

age was subject to illness, so that the physician who had the care of his health promised his parents that he would engage to cover every road he travelled with gold: he returned, however, from a long journey, having by temperance and easiness of temper eluded the prognostication. He checked all tendency to luxury, and restrained his appetite, frequently eating coarser food, and that too with greater eagerness than dainties. He looked on wealth without coveting it; for he studied frugality, and kept under due controul every motion of joy or fear; master of his anger, superior to disappointment; and, though he lost by death many of his children, grand-children, great grand-children, relations and friends, and in so long a life must be presumed to have met with many troubles, he bore them all with great constancy, and never was known to shed a tear, except when he recollected the death of his wife, and the loss of his library by fire."

1780, *June.*

L. On the Utility of the Barometer in Agriculture.

MR. URBAN,

WHATEVER promises to be a benefit to agriculture will, I doubt not, deserve a place in your useful publication. The foreknowledge of the changes of the weather may be reckoned to be of this number. I am led to this reflection on considering the little regard lately paid to the barometer. At its first introduction into use, as indicating the changes of the weather, too much was expected from it; and observers, having been sometimes disappointed in their expectations, have as unjustly rejected it too much. Accurate observations of the motions of quicksilver in it, during several years, have pointed out to me several circumstances not hitherto so much alluded to as they seem to deserve.

At or near the vernal equinox, stormy weather, the wind generally South West, with a remarkable fall of the quicksilver in the barometer, takes place; the storm generally more violent if the new moon happen at or near the equinox. These storms have been remarkable in all ages. When the weather is again settled, what may be called the Summer Season of the barometer begins; and during the Summer the motion of the quicksilver in the barometer is much less

extensive than in the winter, the quicksilver seldom falling lower than 29.5 inches.

The winter season of the barometer begins also with a storm, and a remarkably great fall of the quicksilver, near, or soon, after, the autumnal equinox, the wind sometimes S.W. and frequently N.E. The barometrical summer is sometimes lengthened out so far as November ; after which time the play of the quicksilver is from 30.7 to 28.5, sometimes lower. All coasting vessels around this island should, as much as possible, avoid being at sea in these seasons, at least till the introductory storms are past. Hence a fall of one-tenth of an inch in the summer is nearly as sure an indication of a change of the weather as two-tenths are in the winter. This difference has been unjustly charged to the instrument as a fault.

The extent of a similar variation in the motion of the quicksilver in the barometer, is much more considerable than seems to have been hitherto imagined. This will be confirmed by registers of the weather kept in distant places. If a storm happens in any place within the range of this similarity of motion in the quicksilver, the mercury will fall nearly equally low over the whole extent of the range, though in several places in the range the weather may be fair and serene while the barometer is low. Many, on such occasions, charge the instrument with giving a false prognostic. Let them suspend their censure till tidings may arrive of what may have happened in some distant part. I could give several instances of this fact, but shall mention only one.

Having made an appointment to pay a distant visit with that accurate observer of nature in all her ways, Dr. Franklin, I called on him in the morning, to dissuade him from going, because I had observed that the barometer was very low ; but he, seeing that the heavens wore an agreeable aspect, laughed at my apprehension, and we went, and enjoyed a fair and very agreeable day. The barometer was censured as giving a false prognostic, and I as credulous ; but in a few days we had an account of a most violent storm in the Bay of Biscay, and along the coast of France, on that day.

An attentive observer of the weather will soon perceive that each year has a certain character, if I may so express it, in regard to the changes of the weather. This peculiarity of the different years being of the utmost consequence to the husbandman, I beg his particular attention to it ; for it is chiefly by an accurate observation of this peculiarity in the changes of the weather that he can obtain the most

useful lessons. In some years the changes of the weather seem to be much influenced by the moon's place in the zodiac; that is, when the moon passes the equinoctial line, or when she returns from her greatest declinations south or north; but a register of the weather, kept constantly for some years, assures me that there is no dependence on these circumstances. I could never discover any cause to which I could impute the regularity of the changes in the weather; but can assure the attentive husbandman, that there is, in some years, a remarkable regularity in them, and in all years some degree of regularity. This regularity in the changes of the weather, is most conspicuous in the intermediate months between the equinoxes, that is, during May, June, July, and August, in summer; and, during November, December, January, and February, in winter. The knowledge of the most probable times of these changes may be of great use in agriculture, as well as to seafaring men.

Let me here mention some other circumstances in regard to the barometer. The rising of the mercury forebodes fair weather, and its falling portends rain, with winds. During strong winds, though unaccompanied with rain, the mercury is lowest. Other things equal, the mercury is higher in cold than in warm weather. In general, we may expect, that when the mercury rises high, a few days of fair weather may be expected. If the mercury falls in two or three days, but soon rises high, without much rain, we may expect fair weather for several days; and in this case, the clearest days are after the mercury begins to fall. In like manner, if the mercury falls very low, with much rain, rises soon, but falls again in a day or two, with rain, a continuance of bad weather may be feared. If the second fall does not bring much rain, but the mercury rises gradually pretty high, it prognosticates good weather of some continuance.

When the mercury rises high, the air sucks up or dissolves into its own substance the moisture on the surface of the earth, even though the sky be overcast. This is a sure sign of fair weather; but if the earth continues moist, and water stands in hollow places, no trust should be put in the clearest sky; for in this case it is deceitful. Very heavy thunder-storms happen without sensibly affecting the barometer; and in this case the storm seldom reaches far; but when attended with a fall of the barometer, it reaches much more extensively.

In all places nearly on a level with the sea, rain may be expected when the quicksilver falls below thirty inches.

This points out one cause of the more frequent rains in lofty situations than in low open countries. Thus double the quantity of rain falls at Townly-hall, in Lancashire, than does in London, as we are informed in the Transactions of the Royal Society.

The heights of the quicksilver in the barometer above referred to, hold only in places on a level with the sea; for experiments have taught us, that the mercury falls considerably in inland places, according to their heights.

As your Magazine is perused by many of the most ingenious men in the kingdom, I wish they were called on to account for that power in the air of occasionally dissolving water, if I may so express it, and of mixing the water with itself (as salt is in water) generally invisible, and at other times in vapours, which soon form clouds. Winds, especially from dry continents, have great power of thus raising water. Evaporation, by means of the sun's heat, is generally mentioned as the efficient cause; but whoever attends to the quantity of snow, and even of ice, that is carried off into the air in the most severe frosts, will be convinced that heat is not the principal cause. The quantity of water thus raised into the air may be estimated by numerous springs which owe their source to vapours thus raised. The waters of these springs uniting form the greatest rivers. Add to these, the quantity that fall in dews and rain, which give birth to all vegetables, and to that beautiful verdure which gives a peculiar beauty to this country, in the enjoyment of which, other nations envy us. As we are ignorant of the cause of this power in the air, of dissolving water, so are we no less ignorant whence it is that the air occasionally drops these vapours in dews, rains, &c.

1789, April.

AGRICOLA.

LI. Experiments in Natural Philosophy.

MR. URBAN,

AN account of a loaf loaded with quicksilver being thrown into water to discover the body of a person sunk under the surface, which could only become stationary (if it did so) from attraction, encouraged me to offer the following, in hopes that some one may improve upon the hint:

Being under the cliff at Scarborough, I observed two persons looking very earnestly at the different ooziings of the

water that dribbled down the sides, and tasting the moisture by dipping in their fingers. I went to them, and found them Germans. They were very obliging; and, as I understood the language, informed me they were very well versed in searching after mines, which by thus tasting the water they could discover. I mentioned what I had heard of the divining rod, in use on the Mendip Hills, in Somersetshire, which bends when held over places that contain metallic ore; they said that might well be, for a piece of gold, silver, or any metal, suspended on the end of a very slender switch, when carried over a mine of the same metal, would be so attracted as to bend the end of the stick. Some time after, I happened to be at a silversmith's at Bath, who had a very curious pair of scales, inclosed in a glass case. I admired them; and he said they would weigh to the 200th part of a grain; and there lay in the window a block of solid silver, about six inches square and two inches thick. What the above-mentioned persons told me at Scarborough came into my head, and I thought this a good opportunity to try how far what they said was true. I, therefore, had a shilling put into one scale, and the beam, which was about 18 inches long, made perfectly level by weights in the other scale; then I introduced the block of silver under the scale that had the shilling, and the beam dropped at that end a full quarter of an inch, and stood there until the block of silver was removed, when it immediately returned to the equipoise and level it was before: and this we repeated several times, and it always answered the same. These curious scales were inclosed in the glass case, and the door shut, at every experiment.

The other matter, I think, may be made useful for keeping metal pipes or boilers from the *furring*, or *stony excrescence*, that lodges from boiling water often in them. A friend of mine at Rochester put a common flat shell of an oyster into a new tea-kettle, and kept it in two or three years. During all this time the shell was in the tea-kettle, the tea-kettle gathered no fur, but all the furring settled on the oyster shell, which I have in my possession now, and which is about two inches thick, and something bigger than it was when put in, and perfectly smooth at the bottom, and where at the edge it had from time to time slipped against the side of the tea kettle, in appearance like a hone you set razors on; but on the top of the shell the fur was like any thing boiling up, curly and uneven. The water *there* comes from chalky lands. I live in Essex, and have tried the shell, which also gathered the fur, but of a different

appearance, being more like smooth sand or gravel; but the shell increased in thickness. If this can be turned to account, in respect to keeping boilers and pipes clear, or shewing the nature of the land through which the streams have passed, I shall be happy.

1791, *March.*

H.

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